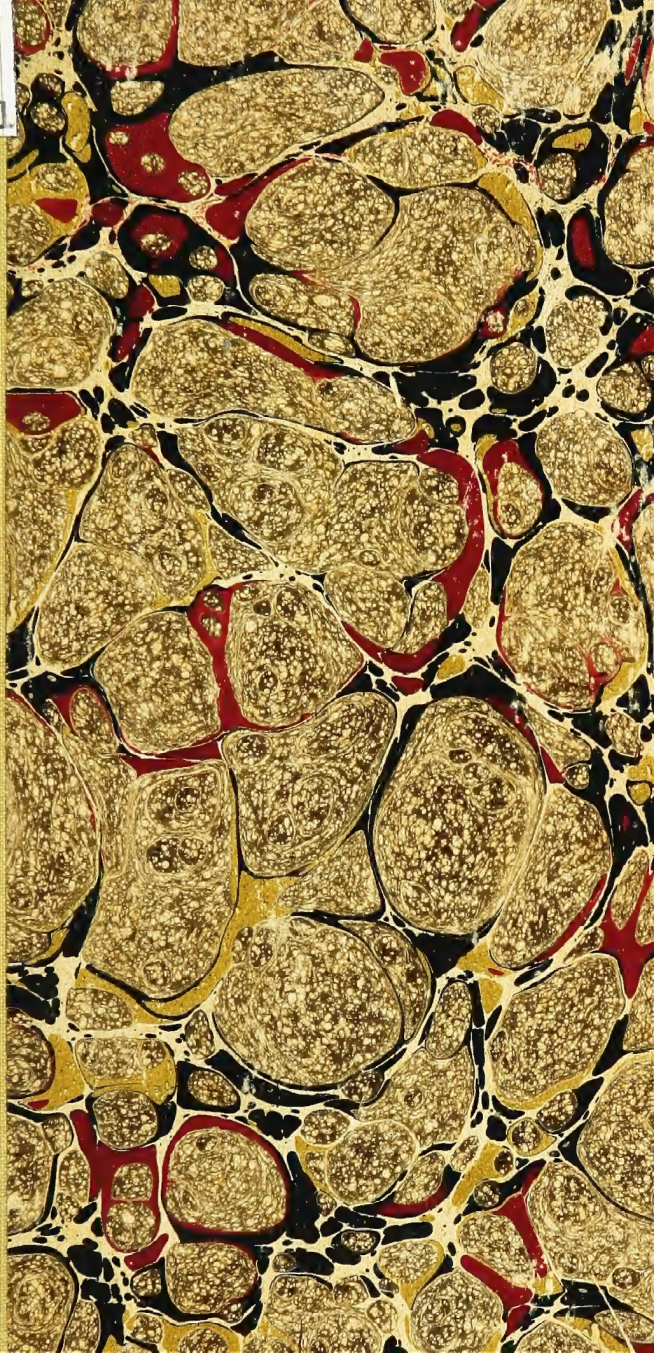
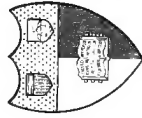


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Interpolations in Bede's Ecclesiastical



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INTERPOLATIONS IN
BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
AND
OTHER ANCIENT ANNALS
AFFECTING THE EARLY HISTORY OF
SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.



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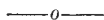
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INTERPOLATIONS IN
BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
AND OTHER ANCIENT ANNALS
AFFECTING THE EARLY HISTORY OF
SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.



It is a well-known fact that most writers who have dealt with the early history of Scotland state that Scotia, the ancient name of this country, was a name applied to Ireland only till the eleventh century. This is the opening sentence of a pamphlet recently published, entitled, "Ireland not the Hibernia of the Ancients," in which an attempt has been already made to controvert such a belief. But as the idea that Ireland was at one time peopled by Scots, and therefore called Scotia, is to a great extent based on Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England, a further attempt will be made in the following pages to prove that Scotland was the only Scotia, by showing that this work is largely interpolated for the purpose of making people believe that Scotia was once a name for Ireland. This will be done by comparing it with the writings of later historians who have

copied most of it nearly verbatim. Even were the work as it now exists taken into consideration, it would be seen that its information regarding the question at issue is contradictory and unreliable.

The Venerable Bede, author of the history before us was born in the year 673. There being some uncertainty regarding the place of his birth, it will be necessary to endeavour to ascertain its true situation, especially as it has a close relation to the subject on hand, for it is possible he may be found to have been born near the Firth of Forth. William of Malmesbury says: "Britain contains in its remotest parts, bordering on Scotia, the place of Bede's birth and education. Through the district runs the river Wira, of no mean width, and of tolerable rapidity."¹ This is taken by modern writers to refer to the borders of present Scotland, and the river Wear in England. The ancient British name of the Forth, however, was Werid,² and there are reasons for believing that this is one of the many instances of the transference of the history of places in the south of Scotland to England on account of the similarity of the ancient names of rivers, towns, &c., in the different countries. In several cases this appears to have been done designedly, as an opportunity will afterwards be taken to show. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to say that incidents which Fordun narrates as having taken place on the north bank of the Forth, are transferred in an apparently interpolated passage in one of Simeon of Durham's works, to the banks of the Wear in England. It may be remembered also that the mistake in Ptolemy

¹ Bede's *Miscellaneous Works*, by Giles, vol. i, pref. p. xlvi,

² Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 422, 423,

map of Scotland, affects all the country between the Wear in England and the Tay in Scotland, as noticed in "Ireland not the Hibernia of the Ancients."¹ The allusion in the above quotation from William of Malmesbury's Chronicle to the remotest region of Britain, bordering on Scotia, supports the belief that he is referring to the Forth when he speaks of the river Wira. It is well known from authentic records that in this historian's life-time (the twelfth century) the name of Scotia was confined to the country north of the Forth. Bede's birthplace should therefore be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Firth of Forth. Two writers, Langen and Engelnussius, state that Bede was born in Saxony in Germany.² They have in all likelihood seen it mentioned somewhere that he was born in Saxonia, which was no doubt quite true, but this was a different place from Saxony in Germany. It evidently refers to the district called Saxonia by the Pictish Chronicle, Tighernach's Annals, and the Annals of Ulster, which is pretty nearly comprehended in the Lothians of the present day. This harmonises with William of Malmesbury's reference to the place of Bede's birth, and confirms the belief that it was near the Firth of Forth.

The monastery in which Bede spent the most of his life was situated in the same neighbourhood. Malmesbury, writing of the place of his birth and education, adds: "This region, formerly exhaling the grateful odour of monasteries, or glittering with a multitude of cities built by the Romans, now desolate through the ancient devastations of the Danes, or those more recent of the

¹ Page 52.

² Bede's *Miscellaneous Works*, by Giles, vol. i, pref, pp. cvii. and cviii.

Normans, presents but little to allure the mind. Here is the river Were, of considerable breadth and rapid tide; which, running into the sea, receives the vessels borne by gentle gales on the calm bosom of its haven. Both its banks have been made conspicuous by one Benedict, who there built churches and monasteries—one dedicated to Peter, the other to Paul.” Bede himself is quoted by Malmesbury¹ as saying that he was born within the possessions of the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul which is at Wearmouth, and, after spending some time under the care of Abbots Benedict and Cœolfred, he passed the remainder of his life at the said monastery. Dr Skene² points out that Bede, in his “Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth,” quotes a letter of one of the Abbots, in which he says that the monastery of Wearmouth was in Saxonia; and he adds that this name remained till a late period attached to the most northern part of the Saxon territory in Britain. Hector Boethius, or Boece, says that Bede, during the latter part of his life, lived at Mailros, an Abbey in Scotland, where there was a community of monks. Dempster, in his *Historia Ecclesiasticus gentis Scotorum*, to a certain extent corroborates this. There is good reason for believing, as will be afterwards shown, that the Mailros of the ninth and preceding centuries was situated nearer the Firth of Forth than the Melrose of the present day, and if so, Boece’s notice would harmonise with William of Malmesbury’s and Bede’s own words regarding the monastery in which he spent the later years of his life. All these references, it will be seen, have points of agreement, and they lead to the belief that the Venerable

¹ 1 Chronicle, Bohn’s Translation, p. 56.

² 2 Celtic Scotland, vol. i. p. 192.

Bede was born and spent the most of his days in the neighbourhood of the Firth of Forth. He died in the year 734.

If the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," as it is now published, were to be considered as all the original production of Bede, it would be a truly wonderful work for the time and country in which he lived. That it is largely interpolated, however, is borne out by several circumstances. The most cogent of these is the silence of the later English annalists regarding events which are treated of in Bede's work at great length. These writers all quote from the Ecclesiastical History frequently, and praise Bede highly, but they omit all notice of several important incidents which the later ancient English historians would assuredly have referred to if they had had a place in the genuine work of Bede. Roger of Wendover even quotes the work always under the title of the "History of the English" only; and a minute comparison of his history and Bede's shows that most of the ecclesiastical notices in the work have been engrafted with the original history after Wendover's time. This does not much concern us at present, however, but if English writers care to take the trouble of comparing the two works, word by word, they would be astonished to find to what an extent the early ecclesiastical history of their country had been tampered with.

As none of the original manuscripts of Bede's work seem to be extant, it is now difficult to trace all the interpolations; but the first version in modern English, which was published in 1565, immediately after the Reformation in England and Scotland, was issued under the auspices of a priesthood who cannot be regarded as free from the suspicion of having tampered with other

works than that of the Venerable Bede. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the following passage occurs in the dedication: "In this History Your Highness shall see in how many and weighty points the pretended reformers of the Church in your Grace's dominions have departed from the pattern of that sound and catholic faith planted first among Englishmen by holy St Augustine our apostle, and his virtuous company, described truly and sincerely by Venerable Bede, so called in all Christendom for his passing virtues and rare learning, the Author of this history."

In analysing the passages in the Ecclesiastical History relating to Scotland and Ireland, an endeavour will be made to separate the genuine from the spurious, though this may not always be successful. Notwithstanding this, we hope to be able to show that Bede's Scots were the inhabitants of north-eastern Scotland, and that this district was the country known to him by the name of Scotia. To accomplish this the passages referred to will be compared with parallel ones in the Saxon Chronicle, and the works of Gildas, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, and Roger of Wendover. This will throw additional light on the Ireland-Scotia controversy, and probably lead to a settlement of it. Considered along with the proofs already produced, and those to follow, they point clearly to the fact that Ireland never was called Scotia or Scotland.

‘It may be as well to say that several of those later annals are interpolated as well as Bede's work. Separate estimates of their value in this respect will be afterwards given, in producing the testimony they afford on the question at issue. Suffice it to say, in the mean-

time, that Florence of Worcester's Annals, and Henry of Huntingdon's History (this latter being first printed in England along with Bede's work), are very largely interpolated. Henry of Huntingdon affirms that he had relied principally on Bede's information in writing his history, but he does not generally copy it literally, except in the interpolated passages. The others are very sparsely interpolated; Gildas and Ethelwerd being apparently almost entirely free from this plague.

Roger of Wendover's work is the most valuable for the purpose on hand, as although it has been interpolated with the view of identifying Hibernia with Ireland, or perhaps written after the former name had been transferred from Iceland, it seems to have escaped being tampered with in order to connect the Scots and Scotia with Ireland. This is perhaps owing to an original manuscript of the work which had escaped the hands of the manipulators of early Scottish history having been discovered at a late date.

In the comparison, the translations of the works named, published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, have been principally used, as they are accessible to the majority of readers. Of course Ireland nearly always appears in the original editions as Hibernia, but the translated name has been used, in order to avoid confusion between the ancient and modern Hibernia, and to show which country it is supposed to refer to by the translators.

A FABRICATED CHAPTER.

The first chapter of the "Ecclesiastical History" is entitled: "Of the situation of Britain and Ireland, and

of their ancient inhabitants." At the beginning of it, we are told that Britain was formerly called Albion; and a description of that country is then given. After which the following passages occur:—

“This island at present, following the number of the books in which the Divine Law was written, contains five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine truth. The Latin tongue is, by the study of the Scriptures, become common to all the rest. At first this island had no other inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its name, and who, coming over into Britain, as is reported, from Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts thereof. When they, beginning at the south, had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea, in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request. . . . The Picts, accordingly, sailing over into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts thereof. . . . Now the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots; who would not consent to grant them upon any other terms, than that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day. In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudins; for in their language, Dal signifies a part. Ireland, in breadth, and for wholesomeness and serenity of climate far surpasses Britain. . . . It is properly the country of the Scots, who, migrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very

large gulf of the sea, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons; which gulf runs from the west very far into the land, where, to this day, stands the strong city of the Britons, called Alcluith. The Scots, arriving on the north side of this bay, settled themselves there."

As the information given above will be found to be contradicted by more reliable testimony, it seems probable that the greater part of this chapter is fabricated. Only one of the ancient English annalists, besides Bede, appears to take notice of these events, and that one is the least trustworthy on such a subject, namely, Henry of Huntingdon. Something similar appears in copies of the Saxon Chronicle, but these are known to be of a late date. It is wanting in the earliest manuscript extant. But this is not the greatest objection to these passages; and it is questionable whether a single line of the whole chapter be genuine or not. Albion, for instance, is not mentioned as the ancient name of Britain by any trustworthy writer, and Alban or Albany is confined in authentic records and the Celtic legends to a part of Scotland. The word English (*Anglorum*), too, used twice in this chapter, is not likely to have been a word used by Bede to designate the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England in his day. It was an ambiguous word then; and it will be found to occur generally, if not only, in the fabricated passages of the Ecclesiastical History.

In addition to this, it was not till the eighteenth century that Riada and his colony of Scots appeared in the pages of historians of Ireland. "Kennedy, whose genealogical dissertation on the family of Stuart was published at Paris in 1705, and, though brief, is the most accurate work known on Irish history, as he

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generally quotes manuscript page and column, first laid open the fact that a colony of Scots, under Riada, settled in Pictland.”¹ After quoting the words of Kennedy regarding Riada’s settlement in Britain, Pinkerton adds: “In both these passages he gives no authorities, though he commonly produces them.”² He then treats at some length of O’Connor’s allusion to the settlement of Riada in Britain, and sums up with these words: “All this is given as usual without an authority or reference. The circumstances of Mr O’Connor’s tale are also discordant,” &c.³ Ritson⁴ says: “No such expedition, nor even such a person as Riada, or Reuda, is ever noticed by Tigernach, or Flannus a Monasterio (Flan of Bute), as quoted by Usher or O’Flaherty, or in the Ulster Annals, or any other ancient or authentic monument.” It is not noticed by Clyn, an Irish annalist of the fourteenth century, who was acquainted with Bede’s History, and quotes it. If it had been mentioned there in Clyn’s life-time, he would scarcely have ignored altogether such an important episode in his country’s annals. If the ancient Irish writers knew nothing of this expedition of Scots where did Bede learn about it?

It may be remarked here also that Ireland (Hibernia) is not said in this first chapter to have had any other name. This would have been a strange omission on the part of Bede, who lived at the very time when the country is alleged to have also been called Scotia or Scotland; and, if this had been the case, it would have been still more wonderful to find that throughout the

¹ Pinkerton’s Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 63.

² Ibid., p. 64.

³ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴ Annals Caledonians, &c., vol. ii. p. 12.

whole of the Ecclesiastical History, even interloped as it is, it is never distinctly affirmed that Ireland was ever called Scotia. Speaking of the forged writings which form the ground-work of Boece's History of Scotland, Innes says: "It is a great advantage to truth that the most part of the forgers of pretended old writings were, by the permission of providence, generally so extremely ignorant, and frequently of so little sense or judgment, that even almost in every passage of their inventions, one may discover anachronisms, contradictions, and other marks of their forgery."¹

A GENUINE CHAPTER: ONLY ONE ROMAN WALL KNOWN TO BEDE.

The next chapter which concerns the present subject, is the twelfth chapter of Book I. The substance of this chapter is copied by most of the ancient annalists; and it appears to be almost, if not altogether, the genuine work of Bede. It is entitled: "The Britons being ravaged by the Scots and Picts, sought succour from the Romans, who, coming a second time, built a wall across the island; but the Britons being again invaded by the aforesaid enemies, were reduced to greater distress than before." The materials for this chapter are taken from a work by Gildas, a preceding British writer; but several important additions are made to them in the Ecclesiastical History. For instance, after calling the Picts and Scots transmarine, or foreign, nations, as his predecessor had done, Bede adds:

"We call these foreign nations, not on account of their being

¹ Essay i., p. 304.

seated out of Britain, but because they were remote from that part of it which was possessed by the Britons; two inlets of the sea lying between them, one of which runs in far and broad into the land of Britain, from the Eastern Ocean, and the other from the Western, though they do not reach so as to touch one another. The eastern has in the midst of it the city Guidi. The western has on it, that is, on the right hand thereof, the city Alcluith, which in their language signifies the rock Cluith, for it is close by the river of that name."

Again, after giving Gildas' account of the arrival of the Romans, the defeat of the enemies, and the building of a turf wall, Bede adds:

"However, they drew it (the wall) for many miles between the bays or inlets of the seas, which we have spoken of; to the end that where the defence of the water was wanting, they might use the rampart to defend their borders from the irruptions of the enemies. Of which work there erected, that is, of a rampart of extraordinary breadth and height, there are evident remains to be seen at this day. It begins at about two miles' distance from the monastery of Abercurnig, on the west, at a place called in the Pictish language, Peanfahel, but in the English tongue Penneltun, and running to the westward, ends near the city Alcluith."

Then, after paraphrasing his predecessor's narrative of another visit of the Roman troops, and the driving of the Scots and Picts again beyond the seas, he continues to depend on Gildas in stating that the Romans resolved to leave the country for ever, but before doing so they helped the natives to build a stone wall from sea to sea. After this another addition of Bede's is found to this effect: "This famous wall, which is still to be seen, is not far from the trench of Severus, and was built at the public and private expense, the Britons also lending their assistance. It is eight feet in breadth and

twelve feet in height, in a straight line from east to west, as is still visible to beholders." Still adhering closely to Gildas' narrative, Bede finishes this twelfth chapter by stating that the Picts and Scots now occupied all the northern and farthest part of the island, as far as the wall.

The most of this chapter was evidently written by Bede; and no writer of his time would have penned such words as quoted above had there been a people called Scots living in Ireland, and so predominating there as to cause that country to be called Scotia. The part of the chapter which appears not to be genuine, is only that small portion referring to the building of the turf wall. There are several objections which might be urged against its authenticity, but the only one that need be noticed is the occurrence of the word English (*Anglorum*) in it; and it may be added that none of the other ancient annalists countenance this passage except Henry of Huntingdon, into whose work all the interpolations found in the Ecclesiastical History have been copied.

It has been sometimes stated that Bede takes notice of three walls built by the Romans in Britain, but a diligent examination of the Ecclesiastical History reveals the fact that he knew only of one, the wall of Antoninus, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Three walls are spoken of in the Ecclesiastical History: the one built by Severus, and the other two which have just been noticed; but the passage referring to one of these has been shown to be, in all likelihood, an interpolation, and the other two walls were evidently built on or near the same site. According to Bede, the stone wall was not far from the trench which accompanied the ram-

part, or turf wall, of Severus. In the fifth chapter he alludes to the building of this wall in these words: "After many great and dangerous battles, he (Severus) thought fit to divide that part of the island, which he had recovered from the unconquered nations, not with a wall, as some imagine, but with a rampart. For a wall is made of stones, but a rampart, with which camps are fortified to repel the assaults of enemies, is made of sods cut out of the earth, and raised above the ground all round like a wall, having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken." Then in the eleventh chapter he alludes to it again thus: "In the year 402 the Romans ceased to rule in Britain. . . . They resided within the rampart, which, as we have mentioned, Severus made across the island," which shows that he is speaking of a wall between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, for it is now well known that the Roman occupation of the country extended thus far from the time of Antoninus till the Romans left the island. The phrase, not far from the trench of Severus, may mean that the stone wall spoken of by Bede was erected at some short distance from Severus' rampart, and likely to the south of it; but it is straining the meaning of the words to identify the stone wall with Hadrian's, between the Tyne and Eden, in the north of England, as some writers have done. It is an undoubted fact that Bede's account of the building of the stone wall is not in accordance with the evidence of the stones of the wall itself and Roman history; but it is less in accordance with the evidence supplied by the stones of Hadrian's wall and other circumstances. The reason for this is plain. The references to these works in Roman writers are scanty and

vague; and the traditions of five or six hundred years at such a period were not to be depended upon.

That Bede and all the early English annalists, whose works we are comparing, always write about one Roman wall only is beyond doubt, and that wall is apparently no other than the one between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. A sufficient explanation of their ignorance of the wall in the north of England is furnished by Chalmers:¹ "From the opinions of Dio and Herodian, it appears probable that only the wall of Antonine existed at the epoch of Severus' invasion; and that Hadrian's wall, being no longer necessary, had become ruinous." Whether this is the right reason or not for Bede's silence regarding the wall in the north of England, and it should be remembered that he spent most, if not all his life, at a great distance away from it, it is at least certain that on and after this Bede speaks only of one wall, that which he describes in this twelfth chapter.

The city mentioned by Bede as situated in the midst of the eastern ocean, has been sometimes identified with Leith or Queensferry; and in the translation before us its situation is said not to be known. Dr Skene² has identified it with Inchkeith, which exactly suits Bede's description; and it is quite possible there may have been a small town there at the time referred to. Besides the name of the island confirms this, for Inchkeith might easily be regarded as a corruption of Inis-Guidi, or the Island Guidi. Few names of that period have reached us with less change.

¹ *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 185, note.

² *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 208, note.

PALLADIUS' MISSION.

In the thirteenth chapter of Book I. these words occur: "Palladius was sent by Celestinus, the Roman Pontiff, to the Scots that believed in Christ, to be their first bishop." This passage, although it rather favours our view of the subject at issue, for the Scots there mentioned ought to be taken for those spoken of in the twelfth chapter, appears to be an interpolation, at least in the form in which it is given in Bede's work. There is no evidence to show that the Romish Church was acknowledged by the Scots at this time, or that they had any bishops over them till the twelfth century. The notice of this event, as it appears in the Saxon Chronicle, is less objectionable. It reads thus: "430. This year Palladius, the bishop, was sent to the Scots by Pope Celestinus, that he might confirm their faith." Another manuscript has: "430. This year Patrick was sent by Pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Scots." Ethelwerd has: "Bishop Palladius is sent by the holy Pope Celestinus to preach the gospel of Christ to the Scots." This passage is varied and extended in such a way that it requires to be separately treated in speaking of the authors' works in which it appears. If it is to be accepted as a genuine record of an event that really took place, it is certain that it refers to the inhabitants of North Britain, for Henry of Huntingdon and Ordericus Vitallis both copy it without note or comment; and these authors lived when Scots is allowed by every writer to have been the name for the inhabitants of Scotland only.

A WRONG RENDERING.

The following sentence occurs in the fourteenth chapter: "The Irish robbers thereupon returned home, in order to come again soon after." As usual, this is copied into Huntingdon's work thus: "The Scots returned with shame to Ireland" (*Hibernia*). That this is a wrong rendering of the word, perhaps purposely done, is evident from the translation of the same passage as given in Bohn's translation of Gildas' work, thus: "The audacious invaders therefore return to their winter quarters, determined before long again to return and plunder." Marianus Scotus, a native of present Scotland, as has been already stated,¹ in relating the actions of the Picts and Scots in the same expedition, says: "*Scoti Revertunum Domum*," instead of the word *Hiberni*, used by Gildas and Bede. Ordericus Vitallis follows Marianus, saying: "The Scots returned to their homes." Florence of Worcester has: "The Scots retreated to their own country." And neither Ethelwerd or Malmesbury say anything to support the translation in the Ecclesiastical History and Huntingdon's work.

ETHELFRITH'S BATTLE WITH ÆDAN.

In the last chapter of Book I. of the Ecclesiastical History, it is said that Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, defeated "Ædan, king of the Scots that inhabit Britain." It would be unnecessary to notice this passage were it not fixed upon by some writers as showing that Bede added the words "that inhabit Bri-

¹ Ireland not the *Hibernia* of the Ancients, p. 29.

tain," to distinguish these Scots from those who inhabited Ireland. Let us therefore see how it has been treated by his successors. Henry of Huntingdon, usual, gives the passage in the same words. Floren of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, other two writers, not altogether above suspicion, refer to the battle, but leave out the words: "that inhaled Britain," after the Scots. The earliest extant manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle has only the words referring to the same battle: "603. This year there was a battle at Egesanstone." A later manuscript has: "603. This year Æthan, king of the Scots, fought against the Dalreods and against Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, at Dæsanstone. . . . Since then no king of the Scots has dared to lead an army against this nation. Ethelwerd takes no notice of this battle, although he closely follows the Saxon Chronicle in other instances and copies the two preceding and the two following entries in it. This, taken along with Roger of Wendover's silence regarding this battle, is significant; the more so, as he speaks of Ethelfrith, the king of the Northumbrians, fighting a battle with the Britons of Caerlegion, in the same year in which the battle with the Scots is said to have taken place. In addition to these circumstances, the chapter in the Ecclesiastical History, in which the battle with Ædan is described, repeats the word English three or four times, and this is not in favour of its being the work of Bede's hands.

LAURENTIUS AND THE SCOTS.

The fourth chapter of the Second Book of the Eccle

astical History is entitled: "Laurentius and his bishops admonish the Scots to observe the unity of the Holy Church, particularly in the keeping of Easter; Melitus goes to Rome." It begins:—

"Laurentius succeeded Augustine in the bishopric, having been ordained thereto by the latter in his lifetime, lest, upon his death, the state of the Church, as yet unsettled, might begin to falter, if it should be destitute of a pastor. . . . He (Laurentius) not only took care of the new church formed among the English, but endeavoured also to employ his pastoral solicitude among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, as also the Scots, who inhabit the island of Ireland, which is next to Britain. For when he understood that the course of life and profession of the Scots in their aforesaid country, as well as of the Britons in Britain, was not truly ecclesiastical,"

He and his fellow-bishops wrote to them—

"The beginning of which epistle is as follows:—'To our most dear brothers, the lords, bishops, and abbats throughout all Scotland, Laurentius, Melitus, and Justus. . . . We held both the Britons and Scots in great esteem for sanctity, believing that they had proceeded according to the custom of the universal Church; but coming acquainted with the errors of the Britons, we thought the Scots had been better; but we have been informed . . . that the Scots in no way differ from the Britons.'"

It is almost needless to say that this is all given in Henry of Huntingdon's History, with the remarkable exception of the words: "who inhabit the island of Ireland, which is next to Britain." Why these words are omitted in his work, it is impossible to say, for they entirely alter the meaning of the whole passage. Appearing in a work written in the twelfth century, without the words quoted, or any reference to make the chapter apply to inhabitants of Ireland, it could only be

taken as referring to the Scots as inhabitants of present-day Scotland. That the most of this chapter is an interpolation is shown by the following facts. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and William Malnesbury, all speak of Laurentius, but they take no notice of his connection with the Scots. Roger Wendover does likewise, and it is significant to find him giving the opening sentence of this chapter in almost the very words of Bede; and then going on to describe Melitus' visit to Rome, as given at the end of the chapter. His omission of all reference to the Scots here clearly manifests that the passages quoted above were not in Bede's original work.

POPE HONORIUS AND THE SCOTS.

The nineteenth chapter of Book II. is of the same character as the one which has just been analysed. It states that: "Pope Honorius wrote to the Scots, whom he had found to err in the observance of Easter. . . . Likewise John, who succeeded Severinus, successor of the same Honorius, being yet but Pope elect, sent them letters correcting the same error."

This chapter is found in Huntingdon also, especially the words quoted, but they are just copied into his work as they stand in the Ecclesiastical History, so that had Huntingdon written them he would have intended them to apply to men living on the north of the Forth. Florence of Worcester, another interpolated writer, also copies the words quoted. The Saxon Chronicle says under the year 627: "Archbishop Justus died, . . . and Honorius was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by Paulinus at Lincoln. And to this Honorius

the Pope, also sent a pall: and he sent a letter to the Scots, desiring that they should turn to the right aster." Neither Ethelwerd nor Malmesbury take any notice of this. Wendover does, however, but his slight agreement with the Saxon Chronicle, and disagreement with the Ecclesiastical History, enables us to estimate the worth of this chapter. Of the preceding chapter, the eighteenth, Wendover copies the substance of these words: "Archbishop Justus was taken up to the heavenly kingdom, and Honorius was elected to the see in his stead." This is just what the Saxon Chronicle has, with the exception of the record of the Pope's writing to the Scots, which finds no place in Wendover's work. In fact, of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the Ecclesiastical History, which all contain some reference to Pope Honorius, as well as to the archbishop of the same name, Wendover only gives the words last quoted; and he takes no notice of this Pope Honorius or of Pope John, but implies that there were no such popes at that time, as may be seen by comparing his notice of the popes under the years 614 and 621. Is this not an instance of transferring the events of a later period to an earlier, to support claims which had no real foundation? The following scrap of thirteenth century history leads to this conclusion: "Pope Honorius, listening to the request of the king of Scotland, who had forwarded copies of king John's letters to the Pope, transmitted a full confirmation of all the liberties of the Scottish Church in the year 1219."¹

1 Robertson's Scotland, under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 10.

THE REAL SCOTS AND THE FICTITIOUS SCOTS.

The first chapter of Book III. contains the following words :—

“ All the time that Edwin reigned the sons of the aforesaid Ethelfrith, who had reigned before him, with many of the nobility, lived in banishment among the Scots or Picts, and were there instructed according to the doctrine of the Scots, and received the grace of baptism.”

The third chapter, which it will be better to consider along with the first, is entitled: “ The same king Oswald, asking a bishop of the Scottish nation, had Aidan sent him,” &c. It then goes on to say :—

“ The same Oswald, as soon as he ascended the throne, being desirous that all his nation should receive the Christian faith, . . . sent to the elders of the Scots, among whom himself and his followers, when in banishment, had received the sacrament of baptism, desiring they would send him a bishop. . . . They sent him Bishop Aidan. . . . He was wont to keep Easter Sunday according to the custom of his country, . . . the northern province of the Scots and all the nation of the Picts celebrating Easter then after that manner. . . . But the Scots who dwelt in the south of Ireland had long since, by the admonition of the bishop of the apostolic see, learned to observe Easter according to the canonical custom. On the arrival of the bishop the king appointed him his episcopal see in the isle of Lindisfarne. . . . When the bishop, who was not skilful in the English tongue, preached the gospel, it was most delightful to see the king himself interpreting the Word of God to his commanders and ministers, for he had perfectly learned the language of the Scots during his long banishment. From that time many of the Scots came daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the Word to those provinces of the English over which king Oswald reigned. . . . The

tructed in the rules and observance of regular discipline. . . . bishop Aidan was himself a monk of the island called Hii, whose monastery was for a long time the chief of almost all those of the northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people. That island belongs to Britain, being divided from it by a small arm of the sea, but had been long since given by the Picts, who inhabit those parts of Britain, to the Scottish monks, because they had received the faith of Christ through their preaching."

These passages, including the words about the Scots dwelling in the south of Ireland, are copied into Huntingdon's work, with these important exceptions. He says that "Oswald sent into Scotia or Scotland where he had been exiled," and "some monks coming from Scotland zealously taught the people." This is an unmistakable indication that Scotia and Ireland were names of different countries at that time, for, had it been otherwise, Huntingdon would have said so, but throughout the whole of his History he never affirms that Ireland was called Scotia.

The passage about Scots in Ireland in the above quotation is of course not genuine. It is remarkable to find that there is not a word of all this, which has just been quoted from the Ecclesiastical History, in the Saxon Chronicle or in Ethelwerd. With reference to the same events Florence of Worcester merely says: "King Oswald applied to the elders of the Scots to send him bishops. Aidan was sent; by whom, and the most illustrious and holy king Oswald himself, the Church of Christ was first founded and established in the province of Bernicia." Malmesbury endorses the information about the sons of Ethelfrith being baptised in Scotland, and king Oswald interpreting Aidan's Scotch to his people only. Wendover does likewise, and also endorses

the words of Huntingdon about Oswald sending into Scotland for a bishop. None of these last three writers, however, say anything about Scots in Ireland in connection with this subject.

COLUMBA AN ICELANDIC SAINT.

The next chapter of the Ecclesiastical History, the fourth, also requires examination. It states that—

“There came into Britain a famous priest and abbat, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the Word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, . . . for the southern Picts, . . . as is reported, had long before forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninias, . . . whose episcopal see, named after St Martin the Bishop, and famous for a stately church, . . . is still in existence among the English nation. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House (*Candida Casa*), because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons. Columba came into Britain in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius. . . . Before he passed over into Britain he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great number of oaks, is in the Scottish tongue called Dearmach. . . . From both which monasteries many others had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland; but the monastery in the island where his body lies is the principal of them all. That island has for its ruler an abbat, who is a priest to whose direction all the province, and even the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject.”

It is necessary to repeat that all this is found in Huntingdon, with the alteration of Columba's burial place, which is said to be at St Ninian's see, the White House. Let us see, however, what support the other authorities give to this account.

The Saxon Chronicle has:—

“Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ. . . . And their king gave him the island which is called Ii. . . . There Columba built a monastery. . . . The southern Picts had been baptised long before: Bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Whitherne, consecrated in the name of St Martin: there he resteth with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbat, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was not a bishop.” Another manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle has: “Columba the presbyter came from the Scots among the Britons, to instruct the Picts, and he built a monastery in the island of Hii.”

Ethelwerd has: “Columba came from Scotia to Britain, to preach the Word of God to the Picts.”

Florence of Worcester endorses the account in the Ecclesiastical History, and in Huntingdon, about Columba coming from Ireland.

Wendover says: “St Columbanus came from Scotland into Britain, and was greatly renowned.”

Malmesbury takes no notice of Columba, nor of Ninias.

It is noticeable here in the first instance that Henry of Huntingdon's History, Florence of Worcester's Annals, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History, all agree in representing Ireland or Hibernia as the country from which Columba came to Britain. This is what might have been expected, as all these three works appear to have been interpolated for the purpose of obscuring the early history of Scotland. But the information they contain on this point is nullified by what is said on the same subject by other annalists writing about the same period. Neither the Saxon Chronicle, nor Ethelwerd,

nor Roger of Wendover, give any countenance to the statement that Columba came from Ireland. The first says he came from the Scots and settled among the Britons. Ethelwerd and Roger of Wendover both say that he came from Scotia to Britain. It might be urged by the supporters of the Ireland-Scotia theory that Scotia was the name of Ireland in the time of Ethelwerd, but this would not stand the test of examination. Ethelwerd does not say that such was the case, and throughout the whole of his annals he gives evidence that the only Scots and Scotia he knew of were to the north of the Forth. In addition to this he distinctly says that Ireland was formerly called *Bretannis*. No such objection can be urged against Roger of Wendover's plain statement. He wrote at a time when Scotia is allowed by all historians to have been the well-known name of the country north of the Forth, and of it only. Besides, he was well acquainted with Bede's History. If such statements as these quoted above, regarding Columba, had been in it when Wendover wrote his annals, is it possible to believe that he would have said that Columba came from Scotia to Britain, without explaining that Ireland was called Scotia in Columba's time, if such had been the case? It is somewhat remarkable that Malmesbury takes no notice of Columba, nor even of Ninian. He was also thoroughly versed in Bede's History; and his omission of all notice of these saints would imply that Bede said nothing about them in his genuine work. But this is improbable. The likelihood is that he would say something about such eminent men, which was copied or abridged by all the other early annalists, including Malmesbury; and that

was to delete it from his works, while Bede's has been altered to suit the views of the manipulating monks.

In Reeves' edition of Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, a sentence relating to the departure of Columba for Hii reads: "de Scotia ad Britanniam." A note to it says: "Venit de Hibernia Columba Britanniam—Bede H. E. III., 4. This one statement ought to have been sufficient at any time to prove where Scotia lay." Mr Reeves was a strong supporter of the Ireland-Scotia theory, and this is meant as a reproof for those persons who had doubted its truth. It is evident that he had no suspicion of the words quoted from Bede's work being an interpolation, or of any other country but Ireland being called Hibernia. In "*Ireland not the Hibernia of the Ancients*," an attempt has been made to show that Iceland was also called Hibernia; and, from what has been said above regarding the passage in the *Ecclesiastical History*, there is good grounds for believing that it never was penned by Bede. Besides, it is stated that Columba was a native of Iceland on good authority; so that even if the passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* could be proved to be genuine, it might have been the ancient Hibernia, or Iceland, that he referred to when he spoke of Columba coming from there to Britain. In Olafsen and Povel-sen's "*Travels in Iceland*," the church which was built by Orlyg at Euisberg, is said to have been dedicated to St Collomcyle, who is supposed to be the same as "Columban, an Icelfander who converted the Picts to the Christian religion in 562."¹ Such an out of the way statement is more to be depended on than one found in the common historical highway, as it is more likely to

¹ English Translation, p. 38.

have escaped the notice of the monks. There were at least seven churches in the Orkney Islands dedicated to St Columba; a fact which supports the statement made in Olafsen and Povelsen's travels regarding the native country of the saint. Of course this was well known by the monks, and they took means to account for it otherwise, as all who have read Adamnan's Life know; but we hope to be able to show that this is not a genuine work either, and thus leave Columba to be claimed by the Icelanders as a countryman of theirs. It is not improbable that Columba, when he left Iceland, might land first in the country then called Scotia, that is, the north-east of present Scotland, and after staying some time there, say at Dunkeld, he might leave Scotia and settle on Inchcolm, which we hope to be able to identify with Hii, and which then very likely belonged to the country called Britain. This would account for both Ethelwerd and Roger of Wendover saying that Columba came from Scotia to Britain.

HERMITS.

Near the end of the fourth chapter of Book III. we come across the first of a series of peculiar references to Ireland. It is as follows: "Egbert, of the English nation, who had long lived in banishment in Ireland for the sake of Christ, and was most learned in the Scriptures." In the seventh chapter of the same book the next of the series occurs. It is to this effect: "Agilbert, by nation a Frenchman, had lived a long time in Ireland, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures." Another is found in the thirteenth chapter, thus: "And that in Ireland, when being yet only a

priest, he (Wilbrord) led a pilgrim's life for love of the eternal country."

Henry of Huntingdon speaks of Agilbert being in Ireland and Florence of Worcester of Egbert being there. The Saxon Chronicle, though it speaks of these three worthies, takes no notice of their life in Ireland. Ethelwerd never mentions them. Florence speaks of Agilbert and Wilbrord, but never alludes to their having been in Ireland. Malmesbury takes notice only of Agilbert, but says nothing about his life in Ireland. Huntingdon mentions Egbert, as will be seen later on, but takes no notice of his life in Ireland. Wendover never mentions Egbert, but he notices Agilbert and Wilbrord, without saying anything about Ireland in connection with either.

From the way in which these passages in the Ecclesiastical History are treated by later writers, it does not seem possible that those referring to Ireland or Hibernia can be genuine. But if there were any possibility of such being the case, there is evidence to show that they refer rather to the ancient than the modern Hibernia. It is accepted as beyond doubt that Iceland, and the islands near it, were the settlements of Christian hermits at this early period. In Laing's preface to his translation of the "*Heimskringla*" of Snorro, it is said:—

"The Irish (Scottish) monk, Dicuil, who wrote in 825 his work, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, published by Walckrnar, in Paris in 1828, says that for a hundred years, that is from 725, the desire for a hermit life had led many Irish Clerks (*eremitæ ex nostra Scottia*, are the words given in Todd's Irish Version of Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, p. 148, note), to the islands to the north of the British sea, which, with a fair wind, may be

reached in two days' sail from the most northerly British islands."¹

Another writer says:—

"There was an old tradition that Papes, *i.e.*, Christian ecclesiastics, had formerly resided there (in Iceland). It seems to be beyond doubt that, at several places on the south-eastern side the first Norwegian settlers found traces of these ecclesiastics such as croziers, books, &c., and that after them, two of these places got their names, the island of Papey, and the small district of Papyli. It is greatly confirmed by the indisputable authority of Dicuil; who says that some Irish (Scottish) clergy men told him that about A.D. 795, they had passed the time from February to August on an island which they believed to be Thule, where the sun at the summer solstice was but a short time below the horizon, and that it was only a day's sail from the frozen sea. This description can hardly mean any country but Iceland, and coincides exactly with the unpretending and simple narrative of the Icelandic recorders. . . . According to the oldest Icelandic writer, Ari Frodi, the Papes even continued to reside in Iceland till the arrival of the Norwegians and left it only because they would not reside with Pagans."²

The monks who tampered with Bede's work had probably read of this somewhere, and may have inserted the passages in the Ecclesiastical History which connected Egbert, Agilbert, and Wilbrord with the only Hibernia known to most people at the time of the Reformation, that is Ireland, in order to bolster up claims which had little else but false history to support them.

THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS AND THE EASTER CONTROVERSY

We now come to evidence that the Scotia of the

¹ Preliminary Dissertation to *Heimskringla* by Laing, vol. i. p. 4

² Munch's *Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, Preface, pp. 1 and 16.

Ecclesiastical History, even as the work now exists, was part of the Scotia of the present day. In the seventeenth chapter of Book III., after mentioning Aidan's death, these words occur: "Finan, who had likewise come from the same monastery of Hii in the Scottish island, succeeded him." Four chapters further on we are informed of the death of Diuma, called "a Scot by nation," bishop of the Midland Angles and Mercians, after which these words are found: "Ceollach, of the Scottish nation, succeeded him in the bishopric. This prelate, not long after, left his bishopric, and returned to the island of Hii, which among the Scots, was the chief and head of many monasteries." The twenty-fourth chapter of the same book informs us that Diuma was "the first bishop of the Mercians. . . . The second was Ceollach, who, quitting the episcopal office whilst still alive, returned into Scotland, to which nation he belonged, as well as bishop Diuma." The twenty-fifth chapter is headed: "How the controversy arose about the time of keeping Easter, with those that came out of Scotland (Scotia)." These words occur in the chapter: "Bishop Aidan being dead, Finan, who was ordained and sent by the Scots, succeeded him in the bishopric, and built a church in the isle of Lindisfarne, the episcopal see; nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots, he made it, not of stone, but of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds. . . . But after the death of Finan, who succeeded him (Aidan), when Colman, who was also sent out of Scotland (Scotia), came to be bishop, . . . Oswy (the king) having been instructed and baptised by the Scots, and being perfectly skilled in their language." We now turn to the twenty-sixth chapter, where it is stated that "Colman

. went back into Scotland (Scotia). . . .
 When Colman was gone back into his own country,
 God's servant, Tuda, was made bishop of the North-
 umbrians. He came out of Scotland (Scotia)
 whilst Colman was yet bishop."

We may just as well consider along with these passages what is said about Colman in the fourth chapter of Book IV., although we shall see that it is only found in the Ecclesiastical History. It is entitled: "Colman, the Scottish bishop, having left Britain, built two monasteries in Scotland; the one for the Scots, the other for the English he had taken along with him." It then goes on to relate how

"Colman, the Scottish bishop, departing from Britain, took along with him all the Scots he had assembled in the isle of Lindisfarne, and also about thirty of the English nation, who had been all instructed in the monastic life; and, leaving some brothers in his church, he repaired first to the isle of Hii, whence he had been sent to preach the word of God to the English nation. Afterwards he retired to a small island which is to the west of Ireland, and at some distance from its coast, called in the language of the Scots, Innisbofinde, the Island of the White Heifer."

He built a monastery there and placed the monks of both nations in it, but as they disagreed, Colman found a place "in the island of Ireland, fit to build a monastery on which, in the language of the Scots, is called Mageo," where he built a monastery and placed the "English" in it. Then it is said that this monastery is "to this day possessed by English," and also that it contains monks "gathered there from the province of the English."

If this latter chapter were to be considered the genu-

ine work of Bede, the quotations given from the third book would be confusing. It is quoted here at some length as a sample of the clumsy way in which the monks commissioned to tamper with ancient history, so as to identify Scotia with Ireland, went to work. If they had made Bede say that Ireland was also called Scotia in his day, one might have given up the attempt to show that Scotland was the only Scotia in despair. Let us now see what foundations there are for all these quotations just produced from the Ecclesiastical History, in later writers, many of whom profess to copy Bede's information; and one of whom at least (Wendover) often has whole chapters of Bede's work copied almost verbatim.

In the first place, it is remarkable that neither the Saxon Chronicle nor Ethelwerd have anything about Aidan, Finan, Diuma, or Ceollach. The Saxon Chronicle only mentions Colman under the year 664, but merely says: "Colman, with his companions, went to his country."

Florence of Worcester says, under the year 651: "After the murder of King Oswin, bishop Aidan departed to the realms of bliss. . . . Finan was raised to the bishopric in his place, being consecrated and sent by the Scots." Under the year 655, he has: "Diuma . . . was the first who was made bishop of the province of Mercia. . . . The second was Ceollan, a Scotchman by birth." Under the year 661, we have: "Finan, bishop of the Northumbrians, died, and was succeeded by Colman, who was also sent from Scotland." Under 664: "In the thirtieth year after the Scotch bishops were established in Northumbria . . . questions having been raised in that province respecting

Easter," &c., a synod was held, at which, after much debate, it was "agreed to relinquish the invalid usages of the Scotch. . . . Colman, silenced by the unanimous resolution of the Catholics, re-joined his adherents in Scotland, and, on his withdrawing to his own country, Tuda was appointed bishop of the Northumbrians in his stead." This is all he says about Colman and these Scottish bishops.

Henry of Huntingdon says:

"Diuma became the first bishop of the Midland Angles, and the Mercians. He died and was buried in Mercia, and was succeeded by Ceollach, who, however, retired to the Scots, from whom he came. . . . In the meantime Finan, the bishop, erected a church of hewn timber in the isle of Lindisfarne. . . . When Finan died, he was succeeded by Colman, who kept Easter irregularly, as Aidan and Finan had done. Whereupon a conference was held in the presence of King Oswy. . . . Colman being unwilling to change the usage of Father Aidan, returned to his own country. . . . Tuda succeeded him in the see of Northumbria. . . . The three Scottish bishops—Aidan, Finan, and Colman—were extraordinary patterns of sanctity and frugality."

Roger of Wendover has under the year 651: "He (Aidan) was succeeded in the bishopric of Lindisfarne by Finan, a Scot by nation." Under 656: "Diuma was the first bishop in the province of the Mercians. . . . The second bishop of the same province was Ceollac, who, quitting the episcopal office, returned to Scotland." "663. At the same time there was a great disputation in England between the English and the Scots, respecting the observance of Easter; for there assembled at Streneshal, King Oswy and his son Alfrid, Colman, a Scot, bishop of Lindisfarne, with his clergy from Scotland," "664. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, returned

to Scotland with his clergy, and Tuda was ordained bishop in his room."

William of Malmesbury mentions Aidan only, and all that he says about the Scots and the Easter controversy is this: "This faith (the Christian), brought to maturity shortly after by the Scots, but wavering in many ecclesiastical observances, was now settled on canonical foundations."

In Reeves' edition of Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, a note at page 341, after quoting the passages given above from Bede's third Book, chapters seventeenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth, says: "From the above, Bede considered Hii to be in Scotia." There can be little doubt of this. And if we take the twenty-sixth chapter along with these, and look at the same events recorded by later annalists with Bede's work before them, especially *Huntingdon* and *Wendover*, it is certain, if they are all genuine records of the writers in whose works they appear, that Bede's Scotia was a part of the Scotland of the present day. As we shall soon have occasion to show, *Huntingdon* knew of no Scots in Ireland in the seventh century; and this is also true of *Wendover*, who endorses Bede's words regarding the country to which *Colman* returned by calling it Scotia or Scotland also.

There is nothing in any of the chapters of Book III. from which quotations have been made to imply that there were Scots in any other place but Scotland and the north of England. *Hibernia* or Ireland is not even mentioned in any one of them. But we can easily see from the way in which a fabricated account (chapter nineteen) of an Irish saint is placed after the seven-

teenth chapter, and another fabricated account of Egbert's life in Ireland, after the twenty-sixth, as well as the account of Colman's visit to Ireland already quoted, how the interpolators managed their task. Regarding the chapter about Colman's visit to Ireland, it is noteworthy to observe that a small island on the west of Ireland should retain at the present day the name by which it was known in Bede's time; and the reader will have observed that the word English is frequently used in it. This must have been an ambiguous word in Bede's days; and it is apparently only used in the fabricated passages. In genuine chapters, such as the twenty-first and twenty-second of Book III. he speaks of the Northumbrians, Mercians, Midland Angles, and East Saxons. In the latter chapter he also speaks in the language of the Saxons.

It is needful also to remark here that the words about Finan having built a church after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of hewn oak, which appear in the twenty-fifth chapter of Book III. of the Ecclesiastical History, are only found in Huntingdon. None of the other later works than Bede's have anything confirming this passage, and surely such a circumstance would have been noticed by some of the more trustworthy annalists if it had had a place in Bede's original manuscript. When the archaeological evidence is under consideration, this wooden church will be further commented upon.

ST FURSEY.

The nineteenth chapter of Book III. is entitled "How Fursey built a monastery among the East

Angles," &c. In the chapter itself we are informed that "Whilst Sigebert still governed the kingdom (of the East Angles) there came out of Ireland a holy man called Fursey. . . . On coming into the province of the East Saxons . . . he applied himself to build a monastery. . . . This man was of noble Scottish blood. . . . After preaching the Word of God many years in Scotland (Scotia), . . . he departed from his native island and came through the Britons into the province of the English (Anglorum)."

This of course might easily be held to imply that Scotland and Ireland were synonymous names for the latter country. But the word Anglorum, which appears in the chapter, is not the only evidence which condemns it. If this chapter were really to be held as Bede's own composition, it would have been surprising to find that he was able to give so much information about an Irish saint who is not even mentioned in the early annals of his own country. John Clyn, a Franciscan friar of the convent of Kilkenny in Ireland, who lived about the middle of the fourteenth century, and compiled a history of Ireland from the creation to his own time, takes no notice of this saint, although he mentions several other saints. As Clyn quotes Bede's work, it is evident that there was nothing in the genuine records of Bede connecting Fursey with Ireland, or the learned friar of Kilkenny would have appropriated some part of this wonderful biography to embellish his annals. Let us see how Fursey is dealt with by the later English annals than Bede's History.

It is necessary to remark in the first place that neither the Saxon Chronicle nor Ethelwerd say any-

thing about Fursey, or Sigebert, king of the East Angles, although they mention that the faith of Christ was preached to the East Angles at this time by Felix. Malmesbury takes notice of Sigebert, as well as Felix, but never mentions Fursey. The other English annalists notice Fursey as given below.

Florence of Worcester says, under the year 636: "At that time a most holy man named Fursey came from Ireland to East Anglia, and being received with honour by the aforesaid king (Sigebert), . . . built a noble monastery."

Huntingdon has: "At this time the kingdom of the East Angles was governed by Sigebert. . . . He established a school, . . . in which he was assisted by bishop Felix. A holy man from Ireland, named Fursey, was nobly entertained by him."

These are two untrustworthy works, as has already been shown. Let us see what Wendover says. The agreement between him and Bede, Florence, and Huntingdon, will be seen to be slight, while the disagreement between him and them is great. He says:—

"In the year 647, St Fursey flourished in Ireland (Hibernia). Giving himself to travel for Christ's sake he arrived in France, where he was entertained by king Clovis, and founded the monastery of Lagny. Not long afterwards he was followed by his brothers Foillan and Ultan, who became eminent in France. . . . In the year 649, king Oswi was in the habit of exhorting Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, to receive the faith of Christ, for he frequently came into the province of the Northumbrians. At length, with the consent of his friends, he was baptised by bishop Finan. . . . He begged king Oswi to give him some teachers who might convert his nation to the faith. . . . Oswi sent into the province of the Middle Angles, and brought thence Cedda, and giving him a presbyter as a companion, he sent them to the East Saxons to preach to

them the word of faith. . . . Cedda returned home to confer with bishop Finan, who made him bishop over the aforesaid nation. Accepting the episcopal office, he returned to the province of the East Saxons."

At the year 636, he mentions Sigebert, king of the East Angles, and at 650 Felix, bishop of the East Angles.

Were there two Sigeberts at that time? Or was there even one? The Ecclesiastical History and all the later English annalists mention both, but it is remarkable to find the earliest annals, the Saxon Chronicle, and Ethelwerd omitting all notice of either. That does not concern us at present, however.

It will be seen that the Ecclesiastical History, Florence, and Huntingdon agree in stating that Fursey came out of Ireland and went into East Anglia; but as these three works generally have all the interpolated passages which have come under our notice, no faith can be placed on them when they differ from the more trustworthy historians. Wendover, who is the only other writer who mentions Fursey, merely states that he left Hibernia and went to France. Although in Wendover's time (the thirteenth century) the name Hibernia had become thoroughly detached from the northern isle, yet it is quite probable that a St Fursey flourished there in the seventh century, and that he went to France, and was followed there by his brothers. One of the works used by Bede in writing his Ecclesiastical History is given as "the Legend of St Fursey." We may believe that after Wendover's time, the life of an Icelandic saint had been tampered with to connect him with the later Hibernia, and that a good deal of this fictitious biography was copied into Bede's work when it was

first published. It is noteworthy that a Dicull is connected with this saint in the Ecclesiastical History (Book III., chapter nineteen); and who, perhaps, may be identified with a "monk of the Scottish nation, whose name was Dicul" (Book IV., chapter thirteen). These passages are not countenanced by Wendover; but the editor of Bohn's translation pertinently asks: "Was he also Dicuil, author of a geographical work still extant?"¹ If this refers to Dicuil, already mentioned above,² who is said to have written his work, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, in 825, then he has been transferred from the ninth to the seventh century by the interpolators. This was of little consequence to them. But if it were possible that Dicuil and Fursey were acquainted, Fursey is probably the clergyman who told Dicuil about Iceland.

BEORT'S EXPEDITION.

The twenty-sixth chapter of Book IV. of the Ecclesiastical History, which is the next that claims notice, is a somewhat puzzling one; not in regard to the question at issue, however. On this point its testimony is clear, coupled with the notices of later writers. The puzzle is to find out what country was devastated, Scotland or Ireland. The chapter begins thus:

"Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sending Beort, his general, with an army (nothing is said about a fleet) into Ireland, miserably wasted that harmless nation, which had always been most friendly to the English. . . . Next year, that same king, rashly leading his army to ravage the province of the Picts, much against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert of blessed memory, . . . was

¹ Note, p. 194.

² Page 33.

drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains and slain, . . . he having the year before refused to listen to Egbert, advising him not to attack the Scots, who did him no harm. . . . The Picts recovered their own lands, which had been held by the English and the Scots that were in Britain, and some of the Britons their liberty."

All this is, as usual, copied into Huntingdon's work, including the advice of Egbert, but with this significant exception, the word Scots or Scotorum given in the Ecclesiastical History, appears in Huntingdon as Irish or Hibernians, without any explanation whatever. Wendover also copies the account as given in the Ecclesiastical History, but he takes no notice of Father Egbert or the Scots in connection with it. Florence does the same, in an abbreviated form. Malmesbury does likewise, though there is some inconsistency in regard to his notice of the event, which will be treated of when we come to deal with his work separately. In Roger of Hoveden's annals the same passage is dealt with in much the same manner as the last three writers deal with it; but the notice of the event occurs in the introduction to Hoveden, where an interpolation could easily have been placed. He never mentions Hibernia or Ireland again till the year 927.

The puzzling thing about this event is that the Saxon Chronicle connects the Scots with it as in Bede, but says nothing about the Irish or Ireland. There is no indication in the earliest manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle that Ireland was ever called Scotia, or that it was peopled by Scots; and most of the later writers had a copy of this manuscript before them when writing their histories. Surely if the passage about Beort's expedition had been written by themselves,

some explanation would have been given with it regarding this change of the name of the people against whom he was sent.

Bede, in his *Life of St Cuthbert*, omits all reference to this engagement with the Scots, but the one with the Picts is treated of at some length. Ireland or Hibernia is never mentioned in this work, though the "*insulis Scotorum*," and the "*regionibus Scotorum*" are mentioned in the chapter which describes Egfrid's defeat and death. But how it came to pass that Father Egbert advised Egfrid not to invade Ireland, let the reader determine, when, according to chapter twenty-seven of Book III., of the *Ecclesiastical History*, he being in Ireland, in the year 664, made a vow that he would never return into the island of Britain, a vow which he carried out, according to the third chapter of Book IV., where we are told that he continued in a strange country till the end of his life. One might have thought that Egbert was a mistake for Cuthbert in the *Ecclesiastical History*, were it not repeated in Huntingdon's work.

AN UNKNOWN IRISH SCOTSMAN.

In the twenty-fifth chapter of Book IV. it is recorded that there lived in the monastery of Coludi (Coldingham) "a man of Scottish race called Adamnan. . . . the priest went away, and upon some sudden occasion passed over into Ireland, whence he derived his origin, and returned no more to him, . . . when he had heard that his priest had gone to Ireland and had died there," &c. If this Scotsman is not the Adamnan with whom we shall have to deal shortly, and the editor of Bohn's

translation says he is not, then it is sufficient to state that this Adamnan is apparently unknown to every other ancient writer.

A REMARKABLE EVENT.

A long account, extending to several pages, is given in Book V., chapter twelve, of the visions beheld by a man among the Northumbrians, who rose from the dead. It is found, almost literally the same, in Roger of Wendover's work, with the exception of the second last paragraph which mentions Ireland. In Wendover's account, these words are also wanting, "which is almost enclosed by the winding of the river Tweed." In the Ecclesiastical History they appear after the monastery of Mailros is mentioned, and are intended to indicate its situation. It has already been hinted, in speaking of Bede's birth-place, that the monastery of Mailros of ancient times was apparently situated near the Firth of Forth. This will be referred to again, when the omission of these words by Wendover will be commented on. Is it not possible that this chapter of the Ecclesiastical History has been copied from Wendover, and the passages referred to added to his narrative?

ADAMNAN THE ABBOT OF HII.

Chapter fifteen, Book V., of the Ecclesiastical History contains these words:

"A great part of the Scots in Ireland . . . conformed to the proper time of keeping Easter. Adamnan, priest and abbat of the monks that were in the isle of Hii, was sent ambassador by his nation to Alfrid, king of the English. . . . Returning home he endeavoured to bring his own people that were in the

isle of Hii, or that were subject to that monastery, into the way of truth . . . but in this he could not prevail. He then sailed over into Ireland, to preach to those people . . . he reduced many of them, and almost all that were not under the dominion of those of Hii, to the Catholic unity, and taught them to keep the legal time of Easter. Returning to his island, after having celebrated the canonical Easter in Ireland . . . he departed this life. . . . This same person wrote a book about the holy places."

Neither the Saxon Chronicle, nor Ethelwerd, nor Florence of Worcester, nor even Henry of Huntingdon, nor William of Malmesbury make any mention whatever of Adamnan. Roger of Wendover, a writer of the thirteenth century, is the only one of our annalists who takes notice of him, and it is interesting to compare his notice with that given in the Ecclesiastical History. It is as follows:—

"In the year 701, flourished the good and learned Adamnan, presbyter and abbat of the monks in the isle of Hii. Being sent on an embassy to king Aldfrid, he was speedily led to approve of the mode of the ecclesiastical institutions, and of the observance of Easter, which he then witnessed; and on his return home, he sought, though without success, to bring his people in the isle of Hii into the true way; after which he sailed into Ireland, and persuaded them almost universally to observe the proper time of keeping Easter. The same man of God also wrote an account of the places of our Lord's nativity, passion, and ascension, and gave a wonderful description of the holy land."

The chapter in the Ecclesiastical History has an appearance of being an elaborated edition of this passage. It will be observed that nothing is said about Scots in Ireland in Wendover's notice, nor is the district over which Aldfrid was king mentioned. This was a difficulty got over by the monkish scribe who copied it into the Ecclesiastical History by calling him king of the Eng-

lish; but if he had consulted Bede's genuine work he would have found that he was only king of the Northumbrians (see chapter eighteen, Book V.) In both works Adamnan's book on the holy places is noticed. In neither is his Life of St Columba referred to, for a very good reason, as occasion will afterwards be taken to show. Had Adamnan ever written such a work, a writer so well acquainted with the history of Scotland as Roger of Wendover, would have heard of it. Bede is made to say in the seventeenth chapter that he had epitomised Adamnan's work on the holy places. Certainly a tract on this subject is found along with Bede's works in several manuscripts; but it is significant to see that in Bede's index to his own writings this one is omitted. Besides, in the edition of the epitome there is no reference to Adamnan's ever having written such a work; and in the preface to Bohn's edition of the translation of the Ecclesiastical History a treatise of Arculf called *De Locis Sanctis* is said to have been used by Bede in the composition of his history. It is not in favour of the genuineness of Wendover's notice of Adamnan even, to find that the supreme ruler of a monastery was unable to make the monks subject to him conform to rites which he had himself embraced, while he was able to induce those who were not under his rule to do so.

There are several notices of Adamnan in Irish Annals, and although they are not much worth, they serve still further to show on how unsubstantial a foundation this interpolation has been built. In Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life of St Columba¹ they are thus referred to: "Connected with the journey to Ireland in 697 (this does not agree with Wendover's date) the annals

¹ Appendix to pref., pp. 50 and 56.

record a transaction which they despatch with enigmatical brevity: *Dedit legem innocentium populis*, in which words they allude to a social reformation which was brought about by Adamnan, and which, having obtained the highest sanction of the people, became associated with the name of the propounder." The acts, it is said, are preserved at Brussels, and the name of Bruide mac Derili, king of the region of the Picts, appears in them. But a note informs us that "the introduction of his name into the acts is suspicious." Reeves adds: "It was possibly on the same occasion that the question of Easter was publicly discussed and the usage advocated by Adamnan adopted. . . . Ecclesiastical considerations, however, if entertained at this meeting, were not of sufficient importance in the eyes of the Irish to merit an entry in a journal." Another authority, referred to by Reeves in support of Adamnan's Irish visit, is a tract, called the vision of Adamnan. A note says of it: "It speaks of tithes, which were unknown in Ireland until long after Adamnan's time." This shows that it is a fabricated or interpolated work. The Life of St Gerald of Mayo is another authority noticed by Reeves. He says it is "full of anachronisms," and after quoting a few sentences from it he adds: "Now, though this statement is open, in the first place, to the grave objection that St Gerald was later than Adamnan, instead of prior to him, and, in the second, that a monastery founded twenty years previously as an asylum for adherents to the old Easter was not a likely place to entertain the professed advocate of innovation; still the story seems to be wrought upon an ancient tradition that Adamnan traversed Ireland on ecclesiastical duty,

and spent some years therein." The last authority referred to is thus spoken of: "The narrative of Adamnan's proceedings, from his first visit to the court of King Aldfrid down to his last stay in Ireland, as given in MacFirbis's manuscript Annals, is so amusingly characteristic of native simplicity, that it is entitled, notwithstanding its looseness, to find a place among more explicit records." In giving it publicity, a pretended quotation from Bede, which occurs in it, is characterised in a note as a "palpable forgery."

These authorities can scarcely be held as affording any grounds for believing that Adamnan ever set foot in Ireland; and when we turn to Clyn's Annals,¹ a work of the fourteenth century, and find no notice whatever taken of Adamnan, not to speak of the great reformation he is said to have effected in Ireland, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the accounts of Adamnan's visits to Ireland are fables.

It is but just to say that the Annals of Tigernach record visits of Adamnan to Hibernia at the years 687, 689, 692, and 697; and the Annals of Ulster at 686, 691, and 696. If these are genuine entries, however, they are more likely to relate to a portion of Scotland or Iceland, and not to Ireland. Regarding the authenticity of Tigernach's Annals, a note at page 312 of Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life of St Columba says: "In the whole range of Irish literary desiderata no work is more imperatively demanded than a faithful exhibition of Tigernach's text. In O'Connor it is so corrupt, so interpolated, so blundered, that it is extremely unsafe to trust the text, while it is certain mischief to follow the translation." Later on it will be shown that both

¹ Irish Archæological Society's Edition.

these Annals were evidently interpolated to bolster up the Easter observance reformation in the isle of Hii by Father Egbert.

EGBERT.

Among the most conspicuous of the numerous references to Ireland given in the Ecclesiastical History, all of which have been examined, are those connected with the life of Father Egbert, who is said to have converted the monks of Hii to the proper observance of Easter. Several chapters in different parts of the work contain notices of incidents in the life of this priest, but it will be seen that they were unknown to many of the later historians. The one which treats of his earlier life is entitled: "Egbert, a holy man of the English nation, led a monastic life in Ireland." It begins as follows (Book III., chapter twenty-seven):—

"In the year 664 there happened an eclipse of the sun. . . . In the same year a sudden pestilence also depopulated the southern coasts of Britain, and afterwards extending into the province of the Northumbrians. . . . To which plague Tuda fell a victim. . . . This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility, and of the lower ranks of the English nation, were there at that time, who in the days of the bishops Finan and Colman, forsaking their native island retired thither. The Scots willingly received them all. . . . Among these were Ethelhun and Egbert . . . of the English nobility, the former of whom was brother to Ethelwin . . . who also afterwards went over into Ireland to study. . . . These two being in the monastery, which in the language of the Scots, is called Rathmelsigi, . . . fell both desperately sick of the same distemper. . . . Of these Egbert . . . prayed fervently to God that he might not die yet. . . . He also made a vow that he would, for the sake of God, live in a strange place, so as never to return into

the island of Britain, where he was born. . . . Egbert, shaking off his distemper, recovered. . . . He at length, in the year 729, being ninety years of age, departed to the heavenly kingdom. . . . Thus he was a great benefactor, both to his own nation and to those of the Picts and Scots, among whom he lived a stranger."

Book IV., chapter three: "Father Egbert, above spoken of, who long led a monastic life with the same Chad, when both were youths, in Ireland. . . . But when he afterwards returned into his own country, the other continued in a strange country for our Lord's sake, till the end of his life."

Book V., chapter nine: "Egbert . . . lived a stranger in Ireland to obtain hereafter a residence in heaven, proposed to himself" to go to Germany and preach the Word of God. Though warned by a vision not to go there, but "rather to go and instruct the monasteries of Columba," he persisted in the attempt, and was shipwrecked. "However, all that belonged to Egbert and his companions was saved. Then he, saying, like the prophet, 'This tempest has happened on my account,' laid aside the undertaking and stayed at home. However, Wictbert, one of his companions, . . . for he had lived many years a stranger in Ireland," &c.

In the following chapter it is stated that: "Two other priests of the English nation, who had long lived strangers in Ireland, . . . went into the province of the Ancient Saxons. . . . The one was called Black Hewald, and the other White Hewald."

Chapter twenty-two:

"Those monks, also of the Scottish nation, who lived in the isle of Hii, with the other monasteries that were subject to

them, were brought to the canonical observance of Easter. . . . For in the year 716, when Osred was slain, . . . the holy father and priest Egbert, . . . coming among them. . . . The monks of Hii, by the instruction of Egbert, adopted the Catholic rites, under Abbat Dunchad, about eighty years after they had sent Aidan to preach to the English nation. . . . Egbert remained thirteen years in the aforesaid island. . . . In the year 729, in which the Easter of our Lord was celebrated on the 24th of April, he performed the solemnity of the mass, in memory of the same resurrection of our Lord, and dying that same day, thus finished, or rather never ceases to celebrate, with our Lord, and apostles, and other citizens of heaven, that greatest festival, which he had begun with the brethren, whom he had converted to the unity of grace. But it was a wonderful dispensation of Divine providence that the venerable man not only passed out of this world to the Father, in Easter, but also when Easter was celebrated on that day, on which it had never been wont to be kept in those parts. . . . He also congratulated his being so long continued in the flesh till he saw his followers admit, and celebrate with him, that as Easter day which they had ever before avoided. Thus, the most reverend father being assured of their standing corrected, rejoiced to see the day of the Lord, and he saw it and was glad.'

If these latter sentences have any meaning, they mean that the monks of Hii were not converted to the Catholic rites regarding the observance of Easter till the year of Egbert's death, that is 729. Let us now see what the other English annals say about this Egbert and his companions. The Saxon Chronicle, under the year 716, has: "And that pious man, Egbert, converted the monks in the isle of Hii to the right faith, so that they observed Easter duly, and the ecclesiastical tonsure." Under 729: "This year the star, called a comet appeared, and Saint Egbert died in Ii." This is all. No mention is made of Ireland in connection with him nor of Wictbert, nor of the Hewalds,

Ethelwerd says under the year 729: "A comet appeared, and the holy bishop, Egbert, died." This is all he records about Egbert.

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, under the year 692, has: "Egbert . . . was an Englishman by birth, but having led a pilgrim's life in Ireland," &c. Under 716: "Egbert . . . induced the monks of Hii to adopt the Catholic usages with respect to Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure." Under 729: "Egbert . . . departed to the Lord on Easter day of this year." This is all that is found about Egbert in this work. Wictbert is not mentioned. The Hewalds are, but nothing is said of their sojourn in Ireland.

William of Malmesbury never mentions either Egbert or Wictbert, or the Hewalds.

Henry of Huntingdon, under the year 715, has: "Egbert, a venerable man, brought over the monks of Hii to the Catholic observance of Easter and the Catholic tonsure. Having lived with them fourteen years, and being fully satisfied with the reformation of the brotherhood, during the paschal solemnities on the feast of Easter, he rejoiced that he had seen the day of the Lord, 'He saw it and was glad.'" This is all. Nothing is said about Ireland, or of his death, or of Wictbert, or the Hewalds.

Roger of Wendover, like Malmesbury, takes no notice whatever of this Egbert, or of Wictbert. The Hewalds are mentioned by him, but nothing is said of their having been in Ireland.

Regarding the pestilence in Ireland, Huntingdon is the only writer who coincides with the Ecclesiastical History on this point. All the other annals mention it, but confine it to Britain. It may be remarked that

the word *English* often occurs in these chapters of the *Ecclesiastical History*. And it is worth noticing that an Egbert, who became archbishop of York after Bede's death, is mentioned by all the later annalists. The result of this analysis of the chapters of the *Ecclesiastical History* relating to Egbert, shows that they are only slightly endorsed by works which have been interpolated, for even the oldest manuscript of the *Saxon Chronicle* is not free from this fault. It is said there are many interpolations in this manuscript, and the entries regarding Egbert in it have an appearance of being of that character. The omission by Malmesbury and Wendover, who both profess to have used Bede's work, of all reference to Egbert and the conversion of the monks of Hii, is of itself sufficient to prove that the passages just quoted from the *Ecclesiastical History* are fabrications.

It is necessary to say that the annals of Tigernach, and the annals of Ulster, both refer to the conversion of the monks of Hii under the year 716; but "it is remarkable that Tigernach and the annals of Ulster agree in employing at this place a form (of the name of the island) not used by them elsewhere," as Dr Reeves states, in a note at page 259 of his edition of Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*. Here they call the island *Eo*, but in every other place where they mention it, which is done frequently, they call it either *Iae* or *Ia*. This single instance of *Eo* occurring in the two annals under the same year, suggests the likelihood of its being an interpolated entry.

We have thus, in the foregoing pages, endeavoured to show that all the notices of Ireland which appear in Bede's work, are fabricated; and the reader can judge

with what success. If it has been demonstrated that none of them were originally written by him, then it is evident that they have been introduced into this history for the purpose of supporting the Irish origin of the Scots. With these passages erased from the Ecclesiastical History, it would be foolish to believe that there were any Scots in Ireland, or that it was called Scotia, in Bede's time.

Before closing this examination of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, it may be as well to say here that the letter to the king of the Picts, which appears in Book V., chapter twenty-one, is not mentioned by the Saxon Chronicle, nor Ethelwerd, nor Florence, nor Malmesbury, nor Wendover.

INTERPOLATIONS IN ANCIENT ANNALS

AFFECTING THE EARLY HISTORY OF

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.



It may not be out of place to append to this treatise an examination of those other works, which were largely interpolated for the purpose of making people believe that Hibernia and Scotia were ancient names of Ireland. When they were produced or tampered with may never be certainly known. At the time the Irish strove to obtain possession of the affluent Scots monastery at Ratisbon or Regensburg, they were charged with making a fraudulent entry in the records of the establishment, in which they described Ireland as Great Scotland. This took place in the year 1515, and possibly some of these works may have been tampered with then to support the fictitious claim. For, notwithstanding the allegations of the Irish ecclesiastics, the local authorities were clear that the monastery belonged to Scotland; and it was accordingly restored to the Scots.'

TACITUS' LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

It will surprise many readers to learn that Tacitus'

¹ Burton's History of Scotland, New Edition, vol. i., pp. 202 and 203 and note.

Life of Agricola is to be considered one of the fabricated works, though it may not have been produced for the purpose of identifying Hibernia with Ireland only. Ireland or Hibernia is mentioned several times in this work. In one place it is implied that its ports were more frequented, in Agricola's time, than those of Britain;¹ but this is contradicted by the evidence which will be produced when speaking of the absence of civilization and trade among the early inhabitants of Ireland. In another place,² it is said that Agricola had often remarked that with a legion and a few auxiliaries, Ireland might easily be annexed to the Roman empire. For this information he is said to have depended upon a certain petty king of Ireland, who had been driven from that country, but whose name is prudently withheld. If this had been true, it would have been strange to find that Agricola, according to this work, wasted so much time and the lives of so many men, in trying to conquer so barbarous a country as Scotland, while a fine commercial country lay an easy prey at no great distance.

These are not the only statements in Tacitus' Life of Agricola which are open to objection. The authenticity of the whole work has been questioned even; and several cogent proofs have been adduced to support this opinion. Among the first editions of Tacitus' works it was not included. It was first produced at the time that Hector Boece, the most fabulous of the early Scottish historians, was studying at Paris. It mentions few places in Scotland, but speaks of the Horesti as one of the tribes inhabiting that country. Ptolemy, who gives the names of many, if not all of the tribes inhabiting Scotland not

¹ Section xxiv. ² Ibid.

long after Agricola's time, never mentions the Horesti. In addition to this there is no reliable evidence to show that Agricola ever was in Britain. It is said that he is not even mentioned, during the fourteen centuries after he lived, by any other author but Dion Cassius, whose history has been imperfectly preserved. This is the only work which can be produced in support of the authenticity of Tacitus' Life of Agricola, and it cannot be said to afford much. The early annalists of both Scotland and England totally ignore both Tacitus and Agricola. Gildas, Nennius, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Roger of Wendover, &c., give an account of the British wars of Julius Cæsar, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Severus, &c., but nothing is said of Agricola's grand campaign.¹ Hector Boece is the first writer who says anything about it.

Another objection to the authenticity of Tacitus' Life of Agricola may be noticed, as it bears on the early history of Scotland. It is there stated, in direct opposition to other writers, that Agricola first subdued and explored the Orkney Islands.² Eutropius, Bede, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ordericus Vitallis, all affirm that it was the emperor Claudius who added the Orcades to the Roman empire. Dr Skene says it is difficult to reconcile the statement that Claudius added the Orcades to the Roman empire, with that of Tacitus, that Agricola first made the Orcades known.³ Whether are we to believe the Life of Agricola on this point, or the statements of the other writers just mentioned? If the latter, then this

1 Burton's History of Scotland, vol. ii, page 10, note.

2 Section ix. 3 Celtic Scotland, vol. i., p. 36, note.

also tends to show that the work under review is a fabrication. It will be afterwards shown that the Orcades spoken of by Bede and these other writers are not the Orkney Islands. These latter, we learn from authentic records, were not so called till the ninth century, if not later, but it is not unlikely that Tacitus' Life of Agricola may have been compiled partly to support this transference of the name.

In addition to the foregoing objections, it may be urged that the statements in the Life of Agricola regarding the previous conquests of the Roman troops in Britain do not accord very well with the references of Lucan, Martial, V. Flaccus, Statius, and Pliny, to the Caledonians. The latter writers imply that the Romans had reached the Caledonian territory before Agricola's time; Tacitus does not admit this. Then again we are told that the brilliant campaigns of Agricola went for nothing after all. If it were possible to prove that this Life of Agricola is a travestied account of the actions of Lollius Urbicus in Britain, there would be better circumstantial evidence to support it. It is certain that Urbicus was the commander of the Roman troops in Britain when the wall and chain of forts were built between the firths of Forth and Clyde; and it would not require any severe strain on our faith to believe that he fought several severe engagements with the tribes to the north of this barrier. His conquests were not fruitless either. The wall which he built remained the boundary of the Roman province to the north till the time when the Romans left the island.¹

The character of Vettius Bolanus, as described by Tacitus in the Life of Agricola,² is also entirely at vari-

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 77. ² Section xvi.

ance with the adulation of Statius when speaking of the same general's actions in Caledonia. If we are to believe that the description was really penned by Tacitus, and that it is true, then we must confess that in this instance Statius has strung together a series of fables about Bolanus. There are numerous other discrepancies in this work, but it is needless to point them all out as they have been frequently commented on by different editors. Considered along with the fact that Agricola's campaigns had never been heard of by any of the early annalists of either England or Scotland, and that he is not commemorated by a single coin or inscription found in Britain, they lead to the conclusion that the *Life of Agricola* is a fabrication of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It is remarkable that two celebrated men of the name of Agricola flourished about that period.

ADAMNAN'S LIFE OF ST COLUMBA.

Adamnan's *Life of St Columba* is considered to be so genuine a work that the very idea of doubting its authenticity will be received with wonder by the numerous writers who have dealt with Columba's life and works. Those of them, however, who condescend to peruse the following pages may perhaps reconsider the grounds of their decision. The present writer is not the only person who has questioned the authenticity of this work. Dr Giles, in his edition of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*,¹ says: "I have strong doubts of Adamnan's having written it." Sir James Dalrymple, and a Prussian clergyman, likewise called the genuine-

¹ Bohn's Translation, p. 264, note.

ness of the work in question ;¹ and viewed in the light thrown upon the subject in bringing forward the proofs which support the opinion that Scotland was the only Scotia, the doubts expressed by these writers receive strong confirmation.

It has to be remarked, in the first place, that although Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life is said to be founded upon a manuscript of the eighth century, it is allowed that there is a total absence from it of the interlacing and artistic work which characterises most of the Scotie writings of the same period; and it appears first to have been heard of fifty years after the Reformation in Scotland.² Besides this, reference is made to a work of Adamnan's, entitled *The Holy Places*, in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Wendover's *Flowers of History*; but no notice is taken in either work of his *Life of Columba*.³ With reference to this omission in the *Ecclesiastical History*, it is explained that Adamnan probably wrote his *Life of Columba* after visiting king Aldfrid; but if this were the case, it is strange that no notice is taken in the *Life* of his having adopted the Roman usage with regard to Easter observance, which was at variance with the custom advocated by his illustrious predecessor. This explanation will not suit Wendover's case. He was a writer of the thirteenth century, and as five hundred years had elapsed since Adamnan lived, it would have been strange to find that he had never heard or read of such a remarkable work as this *Life of Columba*, had it then existed. It would have been a book as well worth noticing as that about the holy places. Wendover mentions *Columba* as well

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, appendix to pref., p. lix.

² *Ibid.* pref., pp. viii., &c.

³ See above, pp. 48 and 49.

as Adamnan, but even when speaking of the earlier saint, not a word is said about this Life. These facts are not in favour of the authenticity of the work before us; and its testimony regarding the question at issue might be discarded on these grounds alone; but let us examine it and see how valueless it is to support the belief that Ireland was once called Scotia.

Cumminius, a successor of St Columba in the abbacy of Hii, wrote a life of his eminent predecessor, which is said to form the ground-work of Adamnan's third book. A few chapters of Cumminius' work are also incorporated in other portions of Adamnan's Life. Is it not possible that some scribe in the sixteenth century fabricated the latter on the basis of the former? A note to Reeves' edition of Adamnan's Life¹ enables the reader to trace the whole of the earlier life, and it will be found to differ in this material respect from the later one, that it seldom if ever uses the word Hibernia, whereas in Adamnan's work that word occurs frequently. To show the curious way in which this word is used in the later life, it will be sufficient to notice its occurrence in the only extract from Cumminius' work which is acknowledged by Adamnan, and then to quote the instances in which it occurs in the later life.

The acknowledged extract is found in Lib. III., chapter five, and Hibernia appears there; but a note informs us, by giving the exact words of Cumminius, that no such word is used in the text of the earlier life.

Turning now to the first and second books of Adamnan's work, which were mainly written by himself, or rather alleged to have been, we find Hibernia often mentioned, but it is generally accompanied by the word

¹ Pref., p. vi.

Scotia, in the sentence immediately preceding or following. This is also a characteristic feature of some of the interpolated chapters of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Of course the design is to make people believe that they were names for one country; but it is never distinctly affirmed anywhere in this work that Ireland or Hibernia was called Scotia. This duty is left for writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to fulfil.

Reeves discharges the task in the following manner.¹ In Lib. I. chapter twelve, for instance, a note to the word Scotia says: "Or Hibernia, as in the next sentence, showing that Ardnamurchan was not then in Scotia." Two chapters further on Scotia and Hibernia are found in the same sentence. In the seventeenth chapter again the word Scotiam appears, and a note to it says: "That is, Hiberniam, as in the next sentence." In the following chapter we find Scotiam and Hiberniam, and Scotia and Hibernia. A note to the first says: "Hiberniam lower down. Again in Scotia and its equivalent in Hibernia." In the twenty-second chapter, Scotiam and Hiberniam appear in sentences following each other; and in the forty-eighth chapter Hiberniae is followed by Scotiae, and it again by Hiberniam. In the second Book, the thirty-eighth chapter contains the word Scotiam, which, a note informs the reader, is convertible with Hiberniam in the next sentence. The following chapter has the word Scotia twice, but omits Hibernia. A note says: "This is another instance of the use of the word for Ireland, as contradistinguished from Scotland, then a part of Britain." In the following chapter, the fortieth, Scotia occurs, and a note to it in-

¹ Irish Archæological Society's Edition.

forms us that it is "Called Hibernia in an earlier part of the chapter."

In all these instances, it will be seen, Hibernia and Scotia are made to appear as if they were synonymous names for Ireland; and yet here, as in all the ancient writers' works with which we are dealing, this is never distinctly affirmed to have been the case.

NENNIUS' HISTORY OF THE BRITONS.

Of Nennius, the reputed author of a history of the Britons, little is known; and it is even uncertain when the work was originally written. Some writers assign its compilation to the year 796, and others, to the year 994. Henry of Huntingdon quotes it as a work written by Gildas, and there is no impossibility in this, for it ends with the times before Gildas' days; and in most of the manuscript copies of Nennius' British History it is attributed to Gildas.¹ Some additions about the kings of the provinces of England have been added by later writers; but there is reason to believe that the genuine work was written by Gildas, as stated by Huntingdon, who lived in the twelfth century.

Speaking of Nennius' History of the Britons, as it now exists, the editor of one of the best editions published thus refers to its interpolations: "It will strike every reader that this work was peculiarly dealt with. It was treated as a sort of common land, upon which any goose might graze. Meré transcribers seem to have played the editor, if not the author."² The earliest

¹ Innes' Critical Essay, vol. 1., p. 192.

² Todd's Irish Version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, p. 19.

manuscript so far as is known to this editor, is of the twelfth century.¹

A work of such a dubious character might well be summarily rejected as an untrustworthy evidence of a Scots settlement in Ireland before the eleventh century; but it is worth while to examine the evidence it does furnish somewhat minutely, in order to form a proper estimate of its fictitious nature. The *Historia Britonum*, in its original state, has apparently been wholly incorporated in Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History; and this work, though overloaded with fabulous matter, enables us to trace the interpolations in Nennius' History. The passages in the latter which do not appear in Geoffrey's work are suggestive, when looked at in connection with the subject at issue. Both works are contained in the *Six Old English Chronicles* in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, and in comparing the two reference will be made to the translations in this volume.

To begin with, a few minor interpolations, which only indirectly concern the present question, may be noticed. Nothing equivalent to paragraph eight in Nennius' History, for instance, is found in Geoffrey's work. It is as follows: "Three considerable islands belong to it (Britain), one on the south, opposite the Armarican shore called Wight, another between Ireland and Britain called Eubonia or Man, and another beyond the Picts named Orkney." The same can be said of paragraph twelve, which is to the effect that the Picts first occupied the Orkney Islands, from which they laid waste many regions, and seized those on the left hand side of Britain, of which they are said to be in possession at the time the history was written.

¹ Todd's Irish Version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, p. 21,

Paragraph thirteen of Nennius, which is one that has a direct bearing on the Ireland-Scotia question, has a little, a very little, in common with the more probable account given of the settlement of the Spanish colonists called *Barclenses* in Ireland by Geoffrey, in Book III., chapter twelve, which was likely taken from a genuine edition of the *Historia Britonum*. In the edition under review, however, the Scots take the place of the *Barclenses*, and are represented as settling in Ireland in connection with improbable events, as is usual with these interpolations. In noticing the settlement of the Spanish colonists in Ireland, Geoffrey totally ignores the Scots, and the marvellous circumstances connected with the colonisation as recorded by Nennius. The fabulous account of St Patrick's life and labours, which occurs in paragraphs fifty to fifty-five, is also unnoticed by Geoffrey, who would never have passed over such a marvellous record without some allusion to it had it appeared in the original manuscript.

The paragraphs referring to St Patrick's life occur in a manuscript copy of the *Historia Britonum*, lying in the library of the Vatican at Rome. They do not appear in all the manuscripts of the work found elsewhere. Like other notices of presumed Irish saints, this one contains many wonderful, if not incredible, statements. It also speaks of Palladius, but unlike an English historian of the thirteenth century, in whose works a similar notice appears, it represents him as going to Ireland to find the Scots. To let the reader understand its untrustworthiness it will be better to transcribe the whole passage; and then to compare it with the one in the works of Roger of Wendover, referred to above:—

In those days St Patrick was a captive among the Scots. His master's name was Milcho, to whom he was a swineherd for seven years. When he had attained the age of seventeen, he gave him his liberty. By the Divine impulse, he applied himself to reading of the Scriptures, and afterwards went to Rome, where, replenished with the Holy Spirit, he continued a great while studying the sacred mysteries of these writings. During his continuance there, Palladius, the first bishop, was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Scots (the Irish). But tempests and signs from God prevented his landing, for no one can arrive in any country except he be allowed from above. Altering, therefore, his course from Ireland, he came to Britain, and died in the land of the Picts. The death of Palladius being known, the Roman patricians, Theodosius and Valentinian, then reigning, Pope Celestine sent Patrick to convert the Scots to the faith of the Holy Trinity; Victor, the angel of God, accompanying, admonishing, and assisting him, and also the bishop Germanus. Germanus then sent the ancient Segerus with him as a venerable and praiseworthy bishop to king Amatheus, who lived near, and who had prescience of what was to happen; he was consecrated bishop in the reign of that king by the holy pontiff, assuming the name of Patrick, having hitherto been known by that of Maun; Auxilius, Isserninus, and other brothers were ordained with him to inferior degrees. Having distributed benedictions, and perfected all in the name of the Holy Trinity, he embarked on the sea which is between the Gauls and the Britons, and, after a quick passage, arrived in Britain, where he preached for some time. Every necessary preparation being made, and the angel giving him warning, he came to the Irish Sea, and having filled the ship with foreign gifts and spiritual treasures, by the permission of God he arrived in Ireland, where he baptised and preached. From the beginning of the world to the fifth year of king Logiore, when the Irish were baptised, and faith in the unity of the individual Trinity was published to them, are 5330 years. St Patrick taught the Gospel in foreign nations for the space of forty years. Endued with apostolical powers, he gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, gave hearing to the deaf, cast out devils, raised men from the dead, redeemed many captives of

both sexes at his own charge, and set them free in the name of the Holy Trinity. He taught the servants of God, and he wrote 365 canonical and other books relating to the Catholic faith. He founded as many churches, and consecrated the same number of bishops, strengthening them with the Holy Ghost. He ordained 3000 presbyters, and converted and baptised 12,000 persons in the province of Connaught, and in one day baptised seven kings, who were the seven sons of Amalgaid. He continued fasting forty days and nights on the summit of the mountain Eli, that is, Cruachan-Aichle, and preferred three petitions to God for the Irish that had embraced the faith. The Scots say the first was, that He would receive every repentant sinner, even at the latest extremity of life; the second, that they should never be exterminated by barbarians; and the third, that as Ireland will be overflowed with water seven years before the coming of our Lord to judge the quick and the dead, the crimes of the people might be washed away through his intercession, and their souls purified at the last day. He gave the people his benediction from the upper part of the mountain, and going up higher that he might pray for them, and that, if it pleased God, he might see the effects of his labours, there appeared to him an innumerable flock of birds of many colours signifying the number of holy persons of both sexes of the Irish nation who should come to him as their apostle at the day of judgment to be presented before the tribunal of Christ. After a life spent in the active exertion of good to mankind, St Patrick, in a healthy old age, passed from this world to the Lord, and changing this life for a better with the saints and elect of God, he rejoices for evermore. St Patrick resembled Moses in four particulars. The angel spoke to him in the burning bush. He fasted forty days and forty nights upon the mountain. He attained the period of 120 years. No one knows his sepulchre nor where he was buried. Sixteen years he was in captivity. In his twenty-fifth year he was consecrated bishop by St Mattheus, and he was eighty-five years the apostle of the Irish. It might be profitable to treat more at large of the life of this saint, but it is now time to complete the epitome of his labours.

As already stated, the above is in many respects

identical with an account of St Patrick's life given in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*; and yet there is a material difference between the two. The one just quoted makes it appear as if Ireland was the country inhabited by the Scots, whereas Wendover confines the Scots to Scotland, and distinguishes between it and Ireland. Had it been the case in St Patrick's time, that Ireland was called *Scotia*, and was peopled by Scots, he would have said so. He says Patrick was "Born in Ireland, and in his childhood was sold by his father, with his two sisters, into Scotland." Like Nennius, he says Palladius was sent to convert the Scots, but instead of sending him to Ireland to find them, he says: "Preaching the Word of God in Scotland, he (Palladius) afterwards went into Britain, and died in the land of the Picts." *Scotia* and Britain were different countries then, as already stated;¹ and as Wendover, in speaking of St Patrick, distinguishes Ireland from Scotland, he cannot mean the former when he uses the latter designation. The Scots are mentioned twice after this in the account in Nennius, but the name does not again occur in Wendover's notice. That the latter's is also fabricated there is every reason to believe, as will be afterwards shown in dealing with St Patrick's supposed Irish mission; but it serves the purpose in the meantime of proving that the interpolations in Nennius' about the Scots in Ireland were made after Wendover's lifetime.

The following interpolations in an account of the Cruithnians, or Picts of Ireland, which occurs in the Irish version of Nennius, cannot be passed over. In the thirty-first section of Todd's edition of the *Historia*

¹ Ireland not the Hibernia of the Ancients, p. 43,

Britonum, after the name of king Geascuirtibout, these words are found: "XXX. of them henceforward, and Bruide was the name of every man of them, *et regnaverunt, Hiberniam et Albaniam, per cl. annos ut invenitur*, in the books of the Cruithnians, Bruide Pante was the name of the first Bruide." Then follows thirty kings of the name of Bruide. In a note among the additional notes, page xlv., we are told: "The Pictish Chronicle says, upon the name of Bruide the first, *a quo triginta Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam per 150 annorum spatium*; and adds their private or personal names. . . . If these thirty kings reigned over Albania, there will then be a double list of the kings of Fortren, which absurdity has induced me to analyse these statements." The analysis is followed by these remarks: "Thus when it was merely a man's name, we find it recurring occasionally, but when it was titular to all alike, we find it entirely absent. Which evinces that the words, *Hiberniam . . . spatium* are superfluous and false, as well as the thirty private names; and that these thirty Bruides are simply the kings of Pictland from Brudi Bout to Talorc III."

Passing on, in the text of the work, to king "Drust, the son of Erp, *c. annis regnavit*, and gained a 100 battles." Here we find added: "*Nonodecimo anno regni eius Patricius sanctus episcopus ad Hiberniam pervenit.*" The same passage appears in Fordoun's list of kings, thus: "*Durst, qui alias vocabatur Nectane filius Irbii annis xlv. Hic, ut asseritur, 'Centum annis vixit et centum bella peregit.' Quo regnante sanctus Palladius (instead of Patricius as in the Irish account), episcopus a beato Papa Celestine missus est ad Scotos docendos, longe tamen ante in Christo credentes.*" It will be

noticed that there is no *Hiberniam* in the passage as given by Fordoun; and his notice of Palladius' mission to the Scots is in accordance with the Saxon Chronicle, which also leaves out all notice of Ireland and Hibernia in connection with Palladius' mission.

Passing Talorc, the next king after Drust, we come to Nectan Morbreac or Morbet, after whose name the following occurs: "*Tertio anno regni ejus Darlughdach, abbatissa Cille-Dara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britiniam; anno adventus avi immolavit Nectonius anno uno Apurnighe Deo et sanctæ Brigidæ, præsentem Darlughdach, quæ cantavit alleluia super istam.*" A note to this passage, which appears on pages 161-3, says: "These statements are false and out of chronology. Pictland and Abernethy were not then Christian, nor was St Bridget then born, nor was Darluchdach yet abbess of Kildare." Further on the same note informs us that Fordoun "ascribes the foundation of Abernethy to St Bridget and her seven virgins, but places it in the reign of Garnard Makdompnach, the successor of the Bruide in whose times St Columba preached to the Picts, which is of course more probable."

It will be seen from the above that whenever the Irish account of the Cruithnian kings and the early part of the Pictish Chronicle introduce Ireland, or rather Hibernia, the information given along with it is contradicted by other authorities who evidently used the same original manuscript from which these two were compiled, and at the same time interpolated.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER'S CHRONICLE.

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle is the next work

we propose to analyse. It is mainly a copy of the Chronicle compiled by Marianus Scotus, who was born in 1028 and died in 1052. Under the year 1028, Florence calls Marianus a Scot of Hibernia.¹ Marianus himself says he was born in Scotia; and he never expressly affirms that this was the name of Ireland or Hibernia; but he gives a clear indication of the country of his birth by connecting kings Duncan and Macbeth with Scotia.² Ireland lays no claim to a monarch of the name of Macbeth in the eleventh century.

At the year 446, Florence speaks of the Scots and Picts coming from the north to invade the territories of the Romanised Britons in unison with other writers. At 651, Finan is said to have been sent by the Scots; and at 661 he is said to have been succeeded by Colman, who was also sent out of Scotland. At 664, Colman, we are told, rejoined his adherents in Scotland, which is also called his own country. From these instances, selected from others of the same nature, and compared with what has been said about these Scottish priests in reviewing Bede's Ecclesiastical History (above, page 39), it will be seen that Florence's Scotia was the Scotland of the present day, or at least a part of it.

Some of the interpolations which occur in Florence's Chronicle may now be given to show their character. "A.D. 491. St Patrick, archbishop of Ireland, made a blessed end, aged 122 years." "521. St Bridget, the Scottish nun, died in Ireland." "672. As he (Bishop Ceadda) was departing out of this world, the most

¹ Translation in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, which is the edition referred to throughout this notice.

² Burton's History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 207, and Chalmers' *Calcutonia*, vol. i., p. 408, note.

everend father Egbert, who had been his fellow-scholar in Ireland, saw the spirit of St Chad, the bishop, Cead-a's brother, with an host of angels, descend from heaven, and bear it upwards with them on their return to the realms of bliss." "674. . . . Ireland, the land of the saints, was gloriously filled with holy men and wonderful works." "687. St Killian, a Scot, born in Ireland, and bishop of Wartzburg, became eminent." These interpolations in two instances connect the Scots with Ireland; but that country is never called Scotia here or elsewhere in Florence's Chronicle. After these interpolations, however, it may be as well to give a few more quotations from the genuine text, in which Scots are connected with Scotland. At the year 901, in speaking of the life of King Edward, it is said that "he also reduced to subjection the king of the Scots, the Cumbrians, and the Strathclyde and Western Britons." At 1050, "Macbeth, king of Scotland," is spoken of. "A.D. 1054. Siward, the stout earl of Northumbria, by order of the king, entered Scotland, with a large body of cavalry, and a powerful fleet, and fought a battle with Macbeth, king of the Scots, in which the king was defeated with the loss of many thousands, both of the Scots and of the Normans."

The reader may now be able to judge whether the following celebrated Scots belonged to Ireland or Scotland. They are claimed by the Irish, but as Florence does not say they were born in Ireland, or had ever been in that country, their claim cannot be allowed. 974. . . . Eberger, archbishop of Cologne, gave the abbey of St Martin at Cologne to the Scots for ever. Linborin, a Scot, was the first abbot." "986. . . . Linborin, the Scotch abbot, died in the abbey of St

Martin at Cologne. . . . Killin succeeded him." 1003. "Killian, a Scot, and abbot of the Scottish monastery of St Martin, died. . . . Helias, a Scot, succeeded him." 1042. "Abbot Elias, a Scot, died . . . of St Martin. He was succeeded by Maiolus, a Scot, a holy man. 1061. "Maiolus, abbot of the Scots, died at Cologne; Foilan succeeded him." As no distinction is made between the Scots over whom Macbeth was king and these Scots just mentioned, they were evidently all born in Scotland.

Between these notices the following relating to Ireland appear, which are so characteristic as to be worth reproducing:—

"A.D. 1043. . . . Animchadus, a Scottish monk, who led a life of seclusion in the monastery at Fulda, died. . . . Over his tomb lights were seen, and there was the voice of psalmody. Marianus, the author of this chronicle, took up his station as a recluse for ten years at his feet, and sang masses over his tomb. He has related what follows respecting this Animchadus: 'When I was in Ireland,' says Marianus, 'in an island called Keltra, he entertained, with the permission of his superior, named Cortrain, certain brethren who came there. Some of them departed after their meal, but those who remained sat warming themselves at the fire, and asked him for something to drink, and on his refusing to give it without leave, they urged him to comply. At last he consented, but first sent some of the beverage to his superior, for his blessing. On the morrow, being asked for what reason he sent it, he related all the circumstances. But his superior, for this slight fault, immediately ordered him to quit Ireland, and he humbly obeyed. He then came to Fulda, and lived a life of holy seclusion, as I have already said, until his death. This was told us by the superior, Tigernah, on my committing some slight fault in his presence. Moreover, I myself heard, while I was in seclusion at Fulda, a very devout monk of that monastery, whose name was William, implore the aforesaid Animchadus, who was

then in his tomb, to give him his benediction; and, as he afterwards told me, he saw him in a vision standing in his tomb, shining with great brightness, and giving him his benediction with outstretched arms; and I, too, passed the whole of that night in the midst of a mellifluous odour.' These are the words of Marianus."

Marianus says he was obliged to leave his country, which in his own work he calls Scotia, on account of religious disputes. This notice in Florence has evidently been fabricated, not only to connect Marianus with Ireland, but also to show why he left his native country. It is very unlikely that the slight fault noticed here is the religious disputes referred to by Marianus; and the marvellous circumstances with which it is connected, are alone sufficient to discredit it.

The other notice of Ireland appearing between the notices of the Scots of Cologne is as follows: "1053. . . . Aed, a long-bearded clerk in Ireland, a man of great eminence and earnest piety, had a large school of clerks, maidens, and laymen; but he subjected the maidens to the tonsure in the same manner as clerks, on which account he was compelled to leave Ireland."

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S HISTORY.

Henry of Huntingdon is considered to be one of the earliest of the English historians as distinguished from chroniclers. He lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The first two books of his history are mainly a compilation from Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Saxon Chronicle. The third book is an epitome of Bede's information relating to the conversion of the English to Christianity. There appears to be no manuscript extant which can be considered to have been written by

Huntingdon. All the manuscripts, the earliest of which date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, are therefore only copies; and this should be borne in mind in dealing with the statements contained in the work, as it renders the task of tracing any interpolations more difficult. It was first printed in the year 1596, that is, after the period of the Reformation in Scotland.¹

It is difficult to say how much of this work is Huntingdon's own composition, as already stated. He frequently speaks of Hibernia or Ireland; but it has to be remembered that the former name had probably become attached to Ireland before his day. Many of the interpolations in Bede's Ecclesiastical History are copied in this work; but it is possible they may have been inserted in Huntingdon's History by other hands than his. It is significant to find that Ireland or Hibernia is seldom mentioned in the work before us from the period of Bede's death till the eleventh century. Dealing with the work as we find it, however, there is abundant evidence to show that Huntingdon understood Scotia to have always been the name for the north-east of present Scotland; and that, like all the other writers whose works have been examined, he was ignorant of its having ever been applied to Ireland. It is necessary to reiterate this statement in order to bring out the fact as clearly as possible that all the ancient English historians who lived near the time when Ireland is said to have been called Scotia, or when the transference of the name to present Scotland is said to have taken place, omit all notice of such an important historical event, as it strengthens the other proofs in favour of Scotland being the only Scotia.

¹ Bohn's Translation, preface, p. xiii.

Having dealt at some length with the most of the interpolations in Huntingdon in speaking of those in the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, it is needless to go over the same ground again. A few passages will be referred to in support of what has just been alleged, and this is all that is necessary to add to what has already been said on the subject. With regard to Huntingdon's ignorance of Ireland being called Scotia, we have a plain intimation near the beginning of the history, that is, supposing the passage to have been written by him. That it is an interpolation made for the purpose of showing there were large numbers of Scots in Ireland, has already been sufficiently demonstrated, but that does not affect the present question. Near the beginning of the first book¹ it is said that Albion was afterwards called Britain, and then England. Shortly afterwards the Scots' migration from Ireland is spoken of, which country is described and mentioned several times.² It is even stated that it was the original country of the Scots. This was the place to say that Ireland was at the time called Scotia, but there is not even a hint given here, or elsewhere in this work, that such was the case. Although the Scots are connected with Ireland, it is always called by that name, or rather Hibernia. This is just what has been done in copying the same information into Bede's History ; and in both instances the interpolators have so far missed their mark. In speaking of Henry of Huntingdon's statement about the Pictish language being entirely lost, and the people being all destroyed, which also occurs at the beginning of the first book, Professor Skene says it is not true of the language, if it resembled one of the other

¹ Bohn's Translation, p. 2.

² Ibid., pp. 9-12.

languages mentioned by Bede and Huntingdon so closely that one of the spoken languages might equally represent it. He adds that it is not true of the people either, as almost in the very year Huntingdon says they were all killed, he mentions the Picts as forming an entire division in David the First's army at the battle of the Standard.¹ This shows how inefficiently the manipulators of ancient Scottish history discharged their task, and emphasises the remarks made by Innes on their want of sense and judgment, as quoted above (page 15).

Passing on to the period when the Romans left the island destitute of armed men, we find Huntingdon repeating the substance of the passages in Bede, and all the other ancient annalists, relating to the incursions of the Scots and Picts.² These have been taken from a preceding writer, Gildas, who never speaks of Ireland or Hibernia. After describing the several successful inroads of the Scots and Picts, Huntingdon then notices their defeat by the Britons, and has the same sentence as we find in the Ecclesiastical History: "The Scots with shame returned to Ireland," or Hibernia.³ Here again no mention is made of Scotia as the name of Ireland.

Huntingdon refers to Palladius being sent to the Scots, as most of the other ancient writers do.⁴ Shortly afterwards he tells us that the Scots and Picts again attacked the Britons; and here he calls them northern nations,⁵ like Gildas. With the interpolated passages about Scots coming from Ireland to Britain, and returning there

¹ Celtic Scotland, vol. i. p. 194, note.

² Bohn's Translation, pp. 33-36.

⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵ Ibid., p. 36.

again, readers might have some difficulty in saying which Scots it was to whom Palladius was sent; but they have just to remember that **Huntingdon** lived when *Scotia* was the well-known name of present Scotland, and if these Scots had been the inhabitants of any other country he would have said so. In Book II. we are told that **Oswy** subjugated most of the tribes of Scots and Picts who occupied the northern districts of Britain; and shortly afterwards it is said that **Edgar's** dominion extended over all the Scottish people.¹ It requires to be noticed that the northern districts of Britain here mentioned were not *Scotia* proper, but those districts of Britain adjacent to its southern frontier. There must have been no Scots in Ireland in **Edgar's** time, for there is no evidence that his dominion extended over that country.

Passing on to the letter addressed by **Laurentius** to the Scots,² which has already been spoken of in dealing with the same in the *Ecclesiastical History*, we have the first mention of *Scotia* or Scotland by **Huntingdon**. If this had been the name of Ireland at the time referred to, a writer, who lived when it was a name for Scotland only, would have said so. And so with the Scots, to whom **Pope Honorius** wrote,³ if they had been inhabitants of any other country but Scotland **Huntingdon** would have said so. At page 96⁴ we are told that **Osric** and **Eanfrid** had been baptised while they were in exile among the Scots and Picts; and on page 97⁵ that "**Oswald** . . . sent into Scotland where he had been exiled." Then these words occur in the next sentence: "**The Scots** who dwelt in the south of Ireland."

¹ Bohn's Translation, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Here then we have not only a distinction made between Scotland and Ireland, but also between the Scots of Scotland and the Scots of Ireland. Of course this is taking the work as it stands. Several of these passages are evidently interpolations, especially those in which Ireland is mentioned, but their character in this respect has been treated of already. It may not be out of place to enumerate them all here, so that the reader may compare them with each other, and with the references to the Scots and Scotia.

In addition to the instances already noticed, Ireland or the Irish are mentioned on pages 2, 3, 52, 60, 98, 99, 102, 106, 114, 117, which takes us up to the year 699, or about 35 years before Bede's death. The words Ireland or Irish do not occur again till the year 945, pages 169 and 170; and then not again till the year 1051, page 203. With the exception of the two last, the others have all been dealt with in speaking of the interpolations in Bede's Ecclesiastical History. It is remarkable to find that all the notices of Ireland which occur in Huntingdon up to the year 699 appear also in Bede's work, and that the name is not found again in Huntingdon till the year 945, which is after the time Ethelwerd says Ireland was first so called.

Besides the notices of the Scots and Scotland already referred to, the following appear:—Pages 4, 8, 38, 54, 55, 80, 98, 104, 105, 147, 169, 170, 172, 173, 176, 184, 198, 204, which takes us to the year 1054. The most of these seem to be a part of the genuine text, and they all refer to the country now called Scotland or its inhabitants. It should be stated that, in the passage on page 80, it is said that there was a controversy with the Scots and Picts about Easter. The Scots are twice

mentioned here by Huntingdon. Wendover reproduces this passage almost word for word; but neither Scots nor Picts nor anything about the Easter controversy appears in connection with the same event as narrated by that writer.

This completes the review of the early annals which have been largely interpolated for the purpose of making people believe that the Scots originally came from Ireland to Scotland. An examination of these which have only been slightly tampered with for that purpose will be made at the beginning of another treatise, which will deal with the early history of Ireland and Iceland, in so far as it concerns the origin of the Scots.

